Crossing A Broad Divide: Enacting Educational Mobility Justice in Study Abroad

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to possibility agencies and agents of possibility, like TRIO and their dedicated leadership and staff. Thank you for advocating for higher education's most marginalized communities in higher education. Thank you for disrupting notions of impossibility in our students' minds by helping them to overcome the structures created and upheld, to immobilize and silence them.

Abstract

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the study abroad experiences of minoritized first-generation, low-income students who are largely absent in literature, and whose lives are shaped by historical, institutional, systematic, and societal dynamics that require unpacking. In this study I acknowledge that historically, minoritized communities have different histories of mobility and immobility. By contextualizing study abroad as an act of mobility, this research project situates study abroad from a Critical Race Theory and Mobility Justice framework to highlight the differentiated histories of mobility that helped shape study abroad participation. Differential mobilities for minoritized first-generation, low-income students revealed the varied experiences and participant histories that illustrate the discursive and systemic bases of (im)mobility that generate unjust power relations. Through participant counternarratives, I find that students' differentiated mobilities affect and influence their mobility imaginaries, possibilities of travel, and their narrations of identity abroad. I conceptualize an educational mobility justice framework to examine how marginalized study abroad participants experience differential mobilities prior to study abroad, how these mobility inequalities impact their ability to even imagine themselves as participants, and how immobility, discursive and structural, obstructs and shapes study abroad participation.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Central to my existence is a deep-seeded knowledge that injustices and inequities exist. As I grew in age and experience, I saw the world outside of what I had long understood as familial dysfunction and a disadvantaged upbringing. I can vividly remember the first time my consciousness was awakened. As it tends to happen with minoritized first-generation, low-income students, my high school guidance counselor advised that I was not good enough for college, and instead I should focus my energies on cosmetology. Prevailing ideologies about the abilities and motivations of students from non-dominant social groups tend to prime scholars and educators to assume that students from these groups are either unable or unmotivated to pursue higher education opportunities (Haveman & Smeeding, 2006; O'Campo, 2002). Confronting this phenomenon of perceived deficiencies through my own experience crystalized my understanding of power, influence, and resistance in the educational context. In this development of "conscientização" [1] or critical consciousness, I determined my pathway toward one of possibility and action.

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[1] Paulo Freire's (2014) pedagogy is designed to liberate both oppressor and oppressed from the victimization of the oppressed system through "conscientização" or consciousness raising.

Later in life and well into my professional career I began leading study abroad programs for low-income, first-generation university students with varying backgrounds and experiences. My first international travel happened to coincide with the first time I led twenty vulnerable students abroad. In my quest to provide global access and opportunities, I never once considered that I had yet to partake in those opportunities myself. I began to ask myself how my worldview would have been influenced if I had traveled sooner. As an undergraduate student working forty hours a week, I wondered why study abroad programs failed to take into account the nontraditional students like myself. I realized that I was not an anomaly, rather, I was more the rule than the exception.

These experiences have constituted my way of seeing the world and my assumptions about what I know. Informed by a critical constructivist stance, I consider knowledge as a form of social development involving many points of views and influences of various types of meaning. I believe that there are important social and cultural variables that have impact on the subject matter and that these interconnections cannot be ignored. Presumably, that reality is a fact of certain power relations in society. This leads me toward a desire to intervene in today's exclusory literature.

My role as a practitioner and my educational experiences as a low-income, first-generation student and Latina allowed me to recognize that there are complex emotional and cognitive barriers that students have to overcome while abroad. Through research, I

seek to understand more about why these barriers persist and how they can be ameliorated. What I do not know, and what I seek to know, is the how and the why. I know an inherent change happens in students' self- perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs while abroad, but I do not know how they explore these changes and how their identity shifts occur. These questions represent my point of entry into this research. Prevailing understandings of study abroad portray this phenomenon as beneficial to all participants. Yet, this is an inadequate argument as those participants presented in literature as experiencing said benefits are limited to a homogenous pool of students and generalizations are made about these students' experiences abroad. This study aims to understand how the narratives of minoritized first-generation, low-income students and their intersecting identities contribute to and possibly counter the dominant narrative that prevails in scholarship on study abroad. My research addresses a gap in literature as it reimagines study abroad in ways that are disruptive, inclusive, and not constructed on the foundation of the dominant experiences and exclusive narratives of white participants studying abroad.

Problem Statement

Multiple studies claim that the impact of study abroad on students can be profound. Benefits of study abroad include but are not limited to career impact and employment gains (Alred & Byram, 2002; Farrugia & Sanger, 2017; Whalen, 2000), increased cognitive proficiencies in self-reflection and critical thinking (Doerr, 2015;

Ellwood, 2011; Engberg, 2013; Vande Berg, 2007), and intercultural competence (Engle & Engle, 2004; Kehl & Morris, 2008; Vande Berg, 2007; Vande Berg et al., 2009). Study abroad participants may acquire a broader perspective about the human condition in the world and are confronted with a new sense of history, a widening of horizons, and an appreciation of other cultures (Matz, 1997). Yet, the consequences of study abroad experiences on minoritized first-generation, low-income students and their journey while abroad is an area that remains under-examined. The implications of excluding – intentionally or not – the experiences of marginalized students abroad signal that this population does not exist as study abroad beneficiaries.

Despite the growing consensus around the notion that study abroad is key for global citizenship, cultural awareness, and intercultural competence, scholarship tends to neglect the extent to which these benefits are made accessible to minoritized first-generation, low-income students. My dissertation centers the experiences of students who are at the margins of study abroad and tells the stories of what study abroad does for them, from their vantage point. The longer-term aim of this study is to promote changes across institutions of higher education that call for more intentional, meaningful, and equitable practices in the recruitment and retention of minoritized first-generation, low-income students in study abroad programs. In undertaking this study, I am guided by the following question: how do the study abroad experiences of minoritized first-generation,

low-income students contribute, challenge, and extend our understandings of the social and academic effects of study abroad in higher education?

While discourse that portrays study abroad as beneficial to participants has proven to be attractive for students who seek a global experience, those experiencing said benefits tend to consist of a largely homogenous student base. Between 2015 and 2018, an average of 70.8% of U.S. study abroad students were white and women made up 67.3% of all students studying abroad (IIE, 2019). In that same period, Black student participation in study abroad represented 6% of participants while Hispanic/Latino participation made up 10% (IIE, 2019). Study abroad has largely failed to diversify the demographic make-up of U.S. participants. Between 2004 and 2016, African American/Black student participation in study abroad increased by only 1.1% while Hispanic/Latino participation increased by 2.8% (IIE, 2017). We would expect the rates of study abroad participation to be roughly equal to higher education enrollment. However, African Americans comprise about 13% (Espinosa et al., 2019) of the total higher education institution population yet, as previously highlighted only 6% of the study abroad population. This difference represents an under-representation. The only group that is over-represented in study abroad are whites. While little is known about ethnoracial disparities in study abroad, even less is known about socioeconomic status (SES) and class disparities. Inequalities in study abroad participation merit attention so as to examine whether the social and economic benefits of study abroad participation extend

across students of different identities. Existing research tends to generalize students' experiences abroad, giving minimal attention to the nuances of how being a first-generation, low-income student of color can shape their interactions and cultural learning abroad. The universalist assumptions in which the benefits of study abroad are expected to extend to all students, regardless of social group identity, forward generalized claims about these benefits that are based on the limited study of a particular demographic – white, financially capable, and mostly female college students.

An additional goal of my research is to redirect the dominant intellectual gaze and dismantle whiteness as the standard for studying abroad. By whiteness, I am referring not only to a phenotype, but more explicitly to the complex and racialized set of privileges that those recognized as 'white' have access to (Jensen, 2005). The scant literature that exists for minoritized students abroad oftentimes focuses on the barriers they face and the deficits they embody that obstruct their participation in studying abroad. Study abroad literature tends to portray minoritized students as deficient while failing to consider the larger structural and historical factors that contribute to lower rates of participation. Yet, these portrayals of minoritized student deficiencies tend to rest on the assumption that there are universally-experienced merits of studying abroad and that these experiences translate collectively to people who are located differently vis-a-vis power relations. In the absence of structural and historical contextualization, dominant depictions of power relations in the international educational landscape present social structures (i.e. race,

ethnicity, class) as static, permanent, and immovable constructs. In this view, the powerlessness and deficiency of minoritized first-generation, low-income students is a result of their social identity group traits as opposed to their positions within structural contexts that shape their educational experiences. If these structurally conditioned experiences are assumed to be universal and static, they are not determined to merit interventions to change them, and educational outcomes are assumed to be the result of fixed social identity group traits. Devoid of historical and structural context, minoritized students simply exist in a vulnerable state by virtue of being of a particular social identity group and are unable to transcend their vulnerability. Study abroad is, like every mainstream institutional practice, premised on white normativity.

My research aims to communicate my story and amplify the narrative of students similar to me. Scholars writing on study abroad, similar to the participants of study abroad, are overwhelmingly white. Oftentimes, this leads to conceptual and epistemological blind spots. Research by Fontaine et al. (1993) challenges dominant discourse in research by illuminating unheard voices in their book *Writing Ourselves into the Story*. They poignantly state: “unheard voices include unheard perspectives as well as unheard people, each of us is a composite of many voices – some more hushed than others, and less encouraged by the louder voices around us” (Fontaine et al., 1993, p. 10). While research may discuss minoritized students in study abroad experiences, this does

not mean that the perspectives or voices of the vulnerable populations are given analytic or interpretive agency.

Lastly, I seek to gain the perspectives of minoritized students through the analysis of their narratives. These narratives allow the examination of the process of negotiating their experiences at the intersections of socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, and other social locations during study abroad. What we know about study abroad is a reflection of what study abroad does for a dominant and largely homogenous subsection of the U.S. student population. The current push for the growth of study abroad fails to take into account other bodies including students with disabilities, diverse gender identities, sexuality, nontraditional aged students, low-income, first-generation, and minoritized students. My research will focus on the latter three identity groups: minoritized first-generation, low-income students due to my extensive experience working in programs that serve these students as a university administrator.

Purpose of Study

During the past decade, entities across the entire U.S. higher education landscape promoted study abroad as a means for colleges and universities to graduate global citizens (Twombly et al., 2012). These entities, including governments and institutions of higher education, are increasingly invested in study abroad, as the vast majority of colleges and universities offer study abroad opportunities (Hoffa & DePaul, 2010). The dramatic growth of study abroad took place in the context of global political and

economic fluctuations, which speaks to the far-reaching appeal of this form of education and its ability to grow in spite of the financial challenges of supporting it. Repeatedly, proponents and advocates of study abroad deploy a discourse to advance study abroad that exalts its heroic motives and beneficial outcomes for students, institutions, and participating countries (Twombly et al., 2012). The discursive representation of claimed benefits have been packaged as marketing tools to promote study abroad as a form of financial capital for institutions all over the world.

However, my research illustrates that the purported benefits of study abroad are not as universal as depicted. Existing literature tends to overlook the ways in which a student's class, race, and ethnicity shapes their study abroad experience. My study illustrates that low rates of participation are not indicative of lack of interest, but rather of a larger history of constrained mobility and racialized surveillance that operates in the United States. In doing so, my study advances new understandings of an often-overlooked vector of educational exclusion – the exclusive nature of study abroad. I do so by examining the experiences of students who are, for all purposes, nearly invisible in the literature, and whose experiences are shaped by historical, institutional, systematic, and societal dynamics that require unpacking. Crucially, for the field of international education and study abroad, these experiences animate participation, perceptions, and possibilities of study abroad, insofar that historically, people of color have different histories of mobility and immobility. By contextualizing study abroad as an act of

mobility, this study puts forth a historicized understanding of structures that may contribute to low rates of participation in study abroad for minoritized students. I query dominant literature on study abroad by asking, how are histories of mobility and identities acknowledged and examined within the narrative of study abroad?

Historical and Contextual Background

Most historical accounts of study abroad as part of the U.S. higher educational landscape focus primarily on the birth of study abroad in 1921 and continue through the late 1960s (Hoffa, 2007). This scholarship focuses primarily on the origins of programming born in elite institutions (Hoffa, 2007), postwar outreach and campus internationalization as a step toward international understanding and peace building (Reilly & Senders, 2008), and the emergence of infrastructure for study abroad as a mechanism for global competence and economic competitiveness (Lincoln Commission, 2005). These accounts tend to neglect the social and political context in which study abroad rose to its present-day prominence, that study abroad emerged against the backdrop of the U.S. civil rights movement. Few, if any, studies link study abroad to the racial politics and racial inequalities that were happening and continue to operate in the United States.

I argue that the barriers for minoritized first-generation, low-income students access to study abroad reflect an uninterrupted history of constraints on their experiences of mobility (Hague, 2010; Pryor, 2016; Rothstein, 2017). I refer to mobility as the ability of a person to move across space. Minoritized students do not figure in collective notions of study abroad insofar as study abroad was not designed for those whose lives were, instead, destined to supply the workforce and ensure the everyday operation of global capitalism (Wilder, 2013). Instead, their ease of mobility posed a threat to this economic and ethnoracial order (Pryor, 2016; Rothstein, 2017). My study situates the barriers to marginalized student participation in study abroad in relation to the history of social and political forces that made it nearly impossible for segments of society to participate in these increased global efforts (Hague, 2010; Pryor, 2016).

Study abroad began gaining momentum as a result of globalization, a process of extensive mobilities. Du Gay (1997) notes that "globalization is about growing mobility across frontiers – mobility of goods and commodities, mobility of information and communication, products and services, and mobility of people" (p. 10). Mobilities such as study abroad, tourism, and migration are unequal and uneven, oriented to the blocking of access for entire populations. Adey (2010) argues that mobilities across the world are "constituted and patterned by vast amounts of immobility" (p. 12). Students at the intersection of class, gender, age, and ethnoracial backgrounds experience study abroad

mobility unevenly. The following sections draw attention to the powerful ethnoracial prerogatives of mobility.

Mobile vulnerability. White control of mobility is embedded within the historical memory of the United States and continues to exist through systemic racism against black and brown bodies (Cohen, 1991; Sharma & Towns, 2016). Recent instances[2] of vulnerable mobility (i.e., exposure to risks that leads to unacceptable levels of immobility) are easily conjured, particularly during noncriminal mundane activities such as barbecuing with family at a park, waiting for a friend in Starbucks, sleeping in an Ivy League dorm common room, and within the confines of one's own home eating ice cream while watching TV (Sharma & Towns, 2016). In a culture governed by the white control over mobility, people of color are vulnerable when they participate in daily, noncriminal activities. For the non-white subject, "a significant part of managing one's day is spent figuring out how to move without disrupting male and white control of mobility" (Sharma & Towns, 2016, p. 40). Scores of racially explicit policies of federal, state, and local governments have defined where whites and people of color should live (Rothstein, 2017). For example, racially restrictive covenants that prohibited the sale or renting of property to religious or ethnic minorities in Minneapolis during the early-to-

[2] See Giggs (2018) and Trahan Martinez et al. (2019).

mid 20th century have present day ramifications resulting in a curtailment of Black and Brown residency and home ownership in historically covenanted housing (Sood et al., 2021). Together, these formal and informal norms of mobility make up a regime that governs mobility specifically, and ethnoracial relations more generally. A pivotal subject for the nation's constructions of the racialization of American space has been the mobility of Native American, Black, Latino, and Asian people in the United States. The associated efforts of white Americans to control the movement of the Other is a struggle that has produced, and continues to produce, stark racial disparities in mobility (Hague, 2010). The relationships between race and mobility in the U.S. necessitates further examination of the intersection of ethnoracial identity and the ability to move.

Although contextually and socially constructed, racial identities shape the lived experience of an overwhelming number of U.S. residents. Historically, U.S. global hegemony and white racial dominance have been reaffirmed through legislation and court rulings mandating the relative immobility of Chinese immigrants (Cresswell, 2006), Japanese immigrants (Goluboff, 2007; Michaud, 2008), Native Americans (Lazarus, 1991), Latinos (Fuller et al., 2019) and African Americans (Hague, 2010; Rothstein, 2017). Collectively, this ethnoracial mobility regime determines which social groups have the liberty to move and whose mobility is constrained. Below, I historicize this ethnoracial mobility regime. I will first discuss the landmark 1857 Supreme Court case, *Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sandford* that egregiously rendered a judicial solution on a

political problem by restricting mobility in the greatest sense: denial of citizenship for African Americans and curtailment of naturalized citizenship for Native Americans. A contextualization of mobility in the U.S. can illuminate historical formations of contemporary forms of immobility and differential mobilities at the intersection of race, class, and gender. Examining the power of mobility through legal storytelling informs efforts to understand study abroad and the uncomfortable truths about histories of mobility for communities of color at the intersection of race, society, and injustice. Interrogating histories of mobility for communities of color, as outlined below, led me to question and examine how the mobility histories of first-generation, low-income study abroad minoritized students impacted their lives before, during, and after study abroad.

Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sandford. In 1846, Dred Scott approached the Missouri courts to try and gain his freedom from slavery after his slave-owner, Dr. John Emerson, died. Due to Emerson's position within the U.S. Army as a surgeon, he and Scott moved to military bases across several free and slave states. After Emerson's death, Scott argued that his moves to and within free states was equivalent to manumission, that is, being released from slavery (Hague, 2010). In delivering the opinion of the court, Chief Justice Taney explained that if an African American was declared to be a U.S. citizen, it would give her or him the right to move around the United States as whites did. The right to move, therefore, was central to U.S. citizenship, but that right was to be reserved for a white population. Justice Taney maintained that European and colonial precedents made

it clear that for over a century, African Americans had been considered to be inferior, traded as merchandise and thus "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect" (Scott v. Sandford, 1857, p. 407). As Scott was not white, he was not a U.S. citizen and thus his freedom to move was revoked. The *Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sandford* Supreme Court decision asserted that African Americans were property and therefore not U.S. citizens. Mobility, therefore, was not a privilege nor a right that African Americans had.

While the brunt of the *Dred Scott* case involved the status of African Americans, the Court's ruling included significant holdings regarding Native Americans. Justice Taney clarified that Native Americans could only be considered a U.S. citizen through the authority of Congress despite being native to the land. Attorney General Cushing's opinion clarified that a Native American, although born in the United States, was not a citizen since he was not completely under the jurisdiction of the federal government (Tennant, 2011). Even taxed Native Americans did not fall under such jurisdiction unless they were specifically recognized as citizens. In addressing mobility, Justice Taney argued that if an individual should leave his nation or tribe, and take his place among the white population, he would be entitled to all the rights and privileges which would belong to any other foreign people (Scott v. Sandford, 1857). This argument for assimilation failed to provide Native Americans naturalized citizenship or a means of acquiring U.S. citizenship on their own. Instead, they would be considered foreign immigrants in the

United States. The following section will discuss the cases of 1877 *Hall v. De Cuir,* and 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* which further curtailed African American mobility.

Hall v. De Cuir and Plessy v. Ferguson. Supreme Court rulings have legitimatized white dominance through the legal construction of subjugated racial identities. These legal norms have been enforced through various techniques of domination, including the curtailment of minoritized mobility (Rivera Ramos, 2001). Despite the passage of the 1875 Civil Rights Act, which forbade discrimination in places of public accommodation, various Supreme Court decisions rolled back these gains. For instance, in the Supreme Court case of *Hall v. De Cuir*, the Court struck down a law of the Reconstruction Louisiana legislature, which had required equal accommodations for all travelers on public carriers without any distinction by race or color. States could not pass civil rights legislation, the Court reasoned, because such laws supposedly interfered with the exclusive power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce in this area. Even when Congress passed civil rights legislation, the Court was able to construct a legal logic for striking it down. Further, despite the passage of state law, African American mobility continued to be constrained with the denial of equal access to hotels, theaters, restaurants, and public transportation. The Court continued to undo Reconstruction efforts through various judicial decisions, and perhaps most notably when it sanctioned racial segregation in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling.

In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Court ruled that state-imposed segregation of the races did not violate the Constitution but instead was a reasonable exercise of government power to promote the health, safety, welfare, and morality of the community (Swidorski, 2003). Evidently, the Supreme Court, forgetting decisions earlier in which it had struck down a state constitutional provision forbidding discrimination, upheld that Plessy, a bi-racial man, was not entitled to white-worthy accommodations. Writing for the majority, Justice Henry Billings Brown stated:

> It is claimed by the plaintiff in error that, in any mixed community, the reputation of belonging to the dominant race, in this instance the white race, is 'property,' …Conceding this to be so, for the purposes of this case, we are unable to see how this statute deprives him of, or in any way affects his right to, such property. If he be a white man, and assigned to a colored coach, he may have his action for damages against the company for being deprived of his so-called 'property.' Upon the other hand, if he be a colored man, and be so assigned, he has been deprived of no property, since he is not lawfully entitled to the reputation of being a white man. (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896, p. 549)

Following the Plessy ruling that established the doctrine of "separate but equal," Northern and Southern states institutionalized a system of racial segregation that largely curtailed the movement of African Americans. In contrast, whites were allowed to go in and out of African American spaces (Hague, 2010). The experiences of white Americans

enjoying the nightlife in Harlem (Steinbugler, 2012), or visiting jazz clubs and listening to the blues (Evans, 1999), contrasted sharply with those of African Americans threatened with violence for their mere presence in sundown towns (Loewen, 2005). When the modern civil rights movement emerged in the United States after World War II, it was again questions of mobility, such as the right to travel and freedom of movement, that became the focus of many activists (Hague, 2010). Efforts to restrict African American mobility continued well into the twentieth century. The following section reviews the era of desegregation and a marked distinction of differentiated mobilities.

Desegregation and Differentiated Mobilities

There were a number of cases during the mid-20th century that showcased the contested nature of African-American mobility. In the case of *Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia* (1946), Irene Morgan refused to ride segregated as an interstate bus passenger in Virginia and the judicial ruling clearly stipulated that segregation laws as applied to interstate bus transportation were unduly burdensome and therefore constitutionally unenforceable. The *Morgan* case inspired the first freedom rides in 1947 when eight African Americans and eight whites rode together on interstate buses (Lüthi, 2017). Despite the *Morgan* ruling, they were arrested repeatedly for violating state laws on segregated transportation. Soon after, a landmark decision abolished segregation in railroad dining cars (*Henderson v. United State*s, 1950). With the 1954 *Brown v. Board of*

Education decision rendered the Jim Crow system established by *Plessy* unconstitutional, public spaces and facilities were finally mandated desegregated. *Boynton v. the Commonwealth of Virginia* (1960) ruled that segregation of interstate transport facilities violated Federal law. The struggles that these cases represent were commonly centered on securing free mobility. It is important to understand how inequalities of mobility arise, and how the consequences of such inequalities call for an account of mobilities that are "sensitive to historical and geographical specificity and placed within its distinctive political and cultural political contexts" (Revill, 2011, p. 373). In a similar fashion, I argue that educators must transcend sensitivity toward critically unpacking historical contexts while attending to the practices and experiences of mobility today.

It is important to point out that during the time that these cases were being tried, minoritized mobility was allowed insofar as it served the interest of the white ruling class. This is why, for example, two million Mexicans were allowed to cross the border through the Bracero between 1942 and 1946 for work in the agriculture and the railroad industry (Toffoli, 2018). Braceros had little control over where they worked and relied on growers for lodging and provisions. The threat of deportation and the lack of effective mechanisms for challenging abuses left them vulnerable to contract violations and poor treatment (Cohen, 2011). In these ways, Braceros were bound as expropriated, racialized dependent laborers. Similar to the Braceros, inaugurated in 1948, Puerto Ricans, like my grandparents, were brought into the continental U.S. through Operation Bootstrap. The

pillars of Bootstrap were low wages, the lack of trade barriers between the island and the mainland, a policy of population control, and a federal tax code which left relatively untaxed profits earned by Puerto Rican subsidiaries of U.S. companies (Cordero Guzman, 1993). This resulted in a formidable profit in the U.S. and a sustained circulation of mobility from the island to the mainland U.S. Through Bootstrap, Puerto Rican men and women were employed in a range of industries yet encountered significant language barriers, discrimination, and exploitation through this capitalist effort. Despite the Bracero and Bootstrap contributions to the U.S. economy through colonial legal mobility structures, these workers were exploited and subject to violent attacks (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2013).

Diverse and intersecting mobilities have consequences for different people at different times and at different places. Removed from its historical and cultural context, the language of mobility decontextualizes and conceals difference, universalizing and naturalizing inequalities in the process (Lüthi, 2016). Educators can seek to understand study abroad mobility by looking closely at the means by which mobilities were produced and consumed in the past. The modes of governance, infrastructures, vehicles, and experiences point to “differentiated mobilities” (Massey, 1996, p. 240), the uneven and unequal positioning of different groups and persons in relation to various flows and movements (Chu, 2006; Dival & Revill, 2005). The subsequent section will review the persistence of segregation and the widening of the mobility gap.

The Mobility Gap

Existing disparities across social identity groups in the educational landscape must be understood in a broader historical context. Historically, the pathways for social mobility in the U.S. have privileged dominant racial groups while excluding minoritized groups. People of color have not been equal beneficiaries of social policies that provided housing, education, and employment opportunities. The disparities across social groups that scholars observe in study abroad must be traced back and contextualized in relation to this mobility gap.

Despite efforts to outlaw discrimination and segregation through the passage of the fifth amendment (which prohibits the federal government from treating citizens unfairly), the thirteenth amendment (which prohibits slavery or, in general, treating African Americans as second-class citizens), and the fourteenth amendment (which prohibits states, or their local governments, from treating people either unfairly or unequally), the Supreme Court enforced *de jure* segregation, which is the enactment of segregation by law and public policy. Although private discrimination (*de facto* segregation) has also played a role, it would have been considerably less effective had it not been embraced and reinforced by government (Rothstein, 2017). Over the course of time, local governments and federal agencies helped create segregation through zoning, mortgage lending, and insurance, upholding restrictive white-only covenants on housing deeds, highway planning, school placement, and other tools (Rothstein, 2017). A primary

tool, Erickson (2016) argues, was the spatial distribution of schools in suburban planning decisions. Business leaders and local politicians created and marketed suburban communities around schools in ways aimed to induce white flight. In this telling of history, white flight to the suburbs was not solely a sociodemographic phenomenon. It was planned and perpetuated by key policy decisions (Mann, 2018). Segregation is a prodigious barrier to an equitable infrastructure in the U.S., as it determines access to quality education and jobs.

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2019), almost 9 million students attend underfunded, racially isolated districts. African Americans are less likely to own cars than whites and, along with Latinos, form a disproportionate share of users of public transportation (Bullard, 2004). Hague (2010) argues that "under the guise of preventing illegal immigration many Latinos are immobilized by arrest, prevented from gaining drivers licenses, and see efforts like the construction of fences along the Mexico- U.S. border and deportation as restricting their mobility" (p. 336). Furthermore, racial profiling, be this of Blacks or Muslim Americans, indicates a continuing relationship between mobility and race in the United States. The mobility gap (i.e., the difference in ease of mobility between people of color and whites) was birthed deep within the historical repression of low-income communities of color, particularly, systematically oppressed African Americans. This leads me to the next section, which addresses constrained study abroad mobility.

"The Only Form of Resistance Is to Move" (Harvey, 2005)

As indicated in the previous sections, there is a substantive and complex set of historical policies, practices, and structures that have worked to constrain the social, physical, and economic mobility of minoritized populations in the U.S. These histories have not been adequately examined and connected to the scholarship on study abroad in the U.S. Study abroad mobility has historically been near an exclusive opportunity for economically-able white females. Yet, given the historical context of mobility, social contexts of higher education shape, sustain, and complicate study abroad involvement for minoritized students. In Chapter Two, I further examine the various bodies of literature that have characterized dominant scholarship and hegemonic understandings of study abroad. In particular, profound concern about underrepresentation of minoritized students participating in study abroad drove extensive theorizing and some research on barriers to access for minoritized students (Wick, 2011), particularly through ascribed deficiencies. Modern day oppression in higher education is demonstrated through deficit rhetoric and 'needing-to-be-fixed' framing of low-income minoritized students that denies their agency (Yosso, 2005). Such research utilizes a deficit analytical lens and places value judgments on communities that often do not have access to white, middle- or upper-class resources (Yosso, 2005). This deficit rhetoric and framing diminish the strengths and competencies that minoritized students already possess and carry with them throughout their educational experiences, and are made all the more significant in light of the

histories of racialized exclusion in the U.S. If minoritized students are imagined from narrow deficient perspectives, then the strategies and institutions designed to support them will also be narrow and limited.

Mobile vulnerability in the U.S. has persisted throughout time, but mobile vulnerability in the context of study abroad is more complex as it extends beyond the domestic landscape. Discussing first-generation, low-income minoritized students in study abroad requires a theoretical framework which accounts for the impact of race and structural inequity on differential participation in study abroad. Four theoretical bodies inform the following section: Critical Race Theory, Intersectional Analysis, Mobility Justice, and Community Cultural Wealth. Collectively, these frameworks are best equipped to provide a lens to examine the barriers, meaning-making, and identity formation processes that characterize the phenomena of study abroad.

Critical Race Theory

Inspired by the work of W. E. B. DuBois (Shuford, 2001) among others, Critical Race Theory (CRT) evolved out of critical legal studies pioneered by Derrick Bell in the 1980s as a movement seeking to account for the role of race and the persistence of racism in American society (Delgado, 1995). CRT has grown to meet the need for social inquiry that engages with questions of racial inequality in education and in society (Lynn et al., 2002). In his quest to apply the framework to the field of education, Solórzano (1997) argues that CRT provides a unique lens for educational scholarship because it explicitly

focuses on how the social construct of race shapes university structures, practices, and discourses from the perspectives of those injured by and fighting against institutional racism.

CRT encourages systemic and institutional analysis that focuses on macro-level causes of inequity rather than deficit frameworks that focus on the "failings" of students or communities of color (DePouw, 2018). CRT counters these distorted frameworks by giving voice and space to minoritized students who are oftentimes subordinated in research. CRT is an important analytical framework that places the "educational experiences of students of color in broader social, institutional, legal, and historical contexts" (Teranishi et al., 2009, p. 58). Emerging from CRT, counternarratives and counterspaces are two tools that provide space for researchers to reinterpret, disrupt, or reimagine the master narrative, or universal truisms, that oftentimes point to minoritized students and their inevitable failures.

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) introduced counter-storytelling as a useful approach in education research as a method of telling the stories of people who are marginalized and oppressed. These stories are means to explore, critique, and counter master-narratives. While counternarratives allow for contestation of deficiency narratives in the discursive realm, counterspaces allow for contention in the spatial realm. Counterspaces refer to "sites where deficit notions of people of color can be challenged and where a positive collegiate racial climate can be established and maintained" (Grier-Reed, 2010,

p. 182). In view of this, counterspaces can "facilitate collective processing of experiences that are related through shared elements of identity" (Shirazi, 2019, p. 481). Democratic theorists have argued that these spaces of autonomous interaction among people from marginalized groups allow them to articulate their perspectives, which may allow them to make claims for policy change (Mansbridge, 2001). Given the voices of minoritized students in study abroad are often muted, an analysis that focuses on the centrality of race, amplifies voices, and challenges dominant discourse is essential and needed for the advancement of practices and policies that address educational disparities.

Mobility Justice

The field of mobility studies sheds light on the role of movement in the operations of social institutions and social practices (Sheller, 2018a). Particularly, mobilities research seeks to understand the systems of power that govern mobility and immobility at various scales (Sheller, 2018a). These systems are discursively produced, legally operationalized, and materially experienced. Moreover, they are "culturally shaped and politically governed by mobility regimes that govern who and what can move (or stay put), when, where, how and under what conditions" (Sheller, 2018a, p. 19). Mimi Sheller (2018a) developed the framework of *mobility justice* to critically examine how "historical development (and present effects) of interlocking systems of uneven mobility distort human relations with each other and the world" (p. xv). Importantly, mobility justice also

interrogates hegemonic discourse, practices, and infrastructures of mobility that create and disrupt movement across space.

A mobility system in higher education is central to the inner workings of institutions as they decide which students are admitted, rejected, and waitlisted; what cities, states, and countries are desirable to recruit from; which students are valuable global ambassadors for overseas experiences; and which students can walk across campus without being stopped by campus police. Sheller's mobility justice framework is productive for examining differential mobilities in study abroad. The uneven access to participate in study abroad and the uneven discourse dedicated to understanding the complexities of mobility for marginalized participants in higher education (Adey et al., 2014) is particularly crucial for investigating the unevenness in participants' mobility prior to studying abroad (uneven access to policies, geography, infrastructure, and materialities). Disparities in study abroad across social groups have yet to be examined in relation to this mobility gap and the regimes that govern them. In this study I examine the historical and contemporary impacts of mobility and the intersecting structures that obstruct movement through a holistic understanding of participants' reflective narratives.

Intersectional Analysis

In the educational landscape, adopting an intersectional approach to the study of educational disparities entails moving beyond single-axis analyses of inequality, such as class inequality, to examine the interaction of class, race, and gender, among other

structures (Crenshaw, 1991). This approach allows scholars to gain more nuanced understandings of the various and interacting structures that mediate the educational experiences and outcomes of students from marginalized social identity groups. Although scholars have not widely theorized an intersectional approach to study abroad to make sense of participant experiences, I argue that an intersectional lens within the context of my research enhances the theory itself and contributes to how we might effectively understand and engage minoritized students abroad. In this study, I adopt an intersectional analysis to examine the extent to which a student's subject position at the intersection of various identities influences how study abroad has shaped identity formation. Particular to my research, an intersectional analysis requires contending with the fact that categories of social difference (i.e., race, class, gender, ability, nationality, age, etc.) within an unequal social system produces new and complex forms of identity that cannot be understood in isolation from each other. This, in turn, produces distinct experiences of social space, institutions, and processes. Moreover, an intersectional approach to the study of mobility can reveal the extent to which multiple structures of oppression, rather than a single axis of oppression, can produce differential mobility or immobility in study abroad.

Community Cultural Wealth

Community cultural wealth (CCW) represents a third conceptual strand in my proposed framework. Whereas CRT, mobility justice, and an intersectional lens provide a

framework to analyze different forms of inequities reinforced through study abroad and offers emphasis on multiple junctures for intersectional considerations of identities while abroad, to understand the effects of study abroad in new ways, CCW helps to build upon these insights. Specifically, CCW expands on the notion of capital in a way that counters deficit-driven depictions of communities of color by providing a conceptualization of capital that is culturally rich (Yosso, 2005). Employing CCW in this context is useful to move beyond deficit-oriented discourse for minoritized students in study abroad by amplifying their narratives and giving credence to their intersecting identities, their beliefs, their worldview, and their ways of knowing.

Culture refers to "behaviors that are learned, shared, and exhibited by a group of people" (Yosso, 2005, p. 75). This notion of culture emerges from Yosso's critique of Bourdieu's (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) understanding and coining of the tern "cultural capital." Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) define cultural capital as cultural knowledge, skills, characteristics, dispositions, and behaviors that are privileged in a given society. Yosso (2005) contends that widely understood interpretations of Bourdieu's argument "exposes White, middle class culture as the standard, and therefore all other forms and expressions of 'culture' are judged in comparison to this 'norm'" (p. 76). Alternatively, Yosso argues that there are varying forms of cultural capital that marginalized populations embody that Bourdieu fails to recognize.

Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital would find rich cultural capital for a child brought up in a middle to high income who has been exposed to the arts, advanced technology, and has been introduced to logic and an extended vocabulary at an early age. In contrast, Bourdieu would have considered me "culturally poor" since I was indeed brought up in a low-income household. However, because I began working at the age of thirteen and learned to navigate work environments, manage money, and learn a degree of work ethic and responsibility, I have forms of cultural capital that have not been considered in his analysis. In response to this epistemological oversight, Yosso (2005) developed the concept of Community Cultural Wealth (CCW).

The deficit-oriented narratives of study abroad place the onus of failure squarely on minoritized students, thus ignoring the gap in opportunities shaped by systemic neglect and an educational debt that stems from historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral decisions and policies (Ladson-Billings, 2006). CCW presents alternative forms of capital which draw on the complex and varied experiences minoritized students bring with them from their homes and communities into their study abroad experience. For the purposes of my study, CCW informs my research by emphasizing a culturally rich approach rather than a deficit orientation. CCW challenges scholars to acknowledge the strengths and talents minoritized students possess instead of assuming that they are broken or need fixing.

I argue that CRT and the aforementioned conceptual paradigms of mobility justice, an intersectional analysis, and CCW are best equipped to amplify, prioritize, and forward understandings of the voices, perspectives, and lived experiences of minoritized first-generation, low-income students abroad. CRT provides space for researchers to acknowledge, challenge, and respond to the historical inequalities that existed and currently persist. A mobility justice framework offers scholars a new way of thinking about uneven and differential mobilities, in relation to the embodied relations of racialization, gender, age, disability, and sexuality. (Sheller, 2018b). Applying an intersectional lens accounts for the multidimensional impacts of power, privilege, and oppression on students' mobilities and their sense of self before, during, and after studying abroad. Community Cultural Wealth shifts the scholarship lens from a deficit perspective and toward a lens that acknowledges, recognizes, and highlights students' strengths. Within the context of this critical framework, the following questions guide my research when examining U.S., minoritized first-generation, low-income students participating in study abroad.

Research Questions

In order to achieve the purpose of my research, which is to examine whether the dominant discourse that the perceived benefits of study abroad are as universal as they are marketed to be, my research is guided by the following questions:

1. How do universalist assumptions about the benefits of study abroad that dominate literature compare and contrast with the lived experiences abroad of minoritized students?
2. How do alumni participants understand their study abroad experiences, in relation to informing and giving meaning to their conceptions of self?

Significance of Study

Answering the above research questions leads to the primary significance of my scholarly research: bringing in marginalized voices and overlooked theoretical perspectives into the examination of study abroad to hopefully challenge and transform dominant assumptions and ways of knowing within the field. Additional areas of potential significance are as follows.

Significance to U.S. study abroad. My research is the first to analyze study abroad within a mobility justice lens. Without historically contextualizing participant mobilities, scholars and practitioners in study abroad may fail to understand the structural factors that contribute to differential mobilities in the U.S. I conceptualize study abroad as an educational practice enmeshed in the broader politics of educational mobility. Scholars and practitioners can examine and address the discursive and systemic bases of educational (im)mobility that generate unjust power relations in the field by introducing educational mobility justice as a potential framework to expand the scope of mobilities research in study abroad.

Higher education institutional significance. Scholars and practitioners can expand the educational mobility justice framework beyond the field of study abroad to interrogate other inequities of mobility in higher education (i.e., ease and access of transportation to and from campus, mobility injustices related to disabled members of the community, racial profiling by campus police, policies that restrict mobility of international students to the U.S., and pandemic immobilities). Moreover, scholars and practitioners can be better equipped to challenge the power structures that constrain the mobility and mobility imaginaries of students on campus by considering how infrastructures and systems of governance within higher education produce differential mobilities.

Significance to international education. A growing literature notes the longstanding silences and erasures of racism and processes of racialization within the field of Comparative and International Education (Shirazi, 2019; Shirazi & Jaffe-Walter, 2020; Sriprakash et. al, 2019). In illustrating that the ability for participants to engage in international experiences depends upon an aspect of racialized mobility that is both underacknowledged in the field of international education and also implicated in politics, power, and hegemonic forces driven by structural inequalities, this study makes a substantive contribution to literature that centers racial (as well as gendered and classed) inequities within international educational practices and institutions. When considering participants, practices, and programming in the field of international education, it is vital

to consider how structural dynamics including race, ethnicity, class, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, and age interact to shape experiences of immobility. Practitioners in the field of international education can resist reproducing hegemonic notions of who is considered an 'ideal' study abroad participant or international student in the U.S. Those in the field of international education can apply the educational mobility justice framework to consider the ways in which discursive and material barriers obstruct the access and/or success of intersectionally marginalized groups to educational opportunities, programs, and institutions.

Personal significance. During my tenure as a higher education practitioner who is passionate about global access for vulnerable populations, I yearned for a deeper understanding about the experiences of first-generation, low-income, minoritized students abroad. This project will open the way for future research that will allow myself and colleagues within this field to develop a long-term research agenda that critically centers the educational experiences of underserved communities.

I use the lessons that I draw from my research to reconsider and reimagine study abroad in ways that are more inclusive and not built on the basis of the dominant experiences of white participants studying abroad (Caton & Santos, 2009; Schroeder et al., 2009). This has implications for the field of education and broader research in the following ways. First, the research contributes understandings of how students undertake self-fashioning, the process of constructing one's identity and public persona according to

a set of socially accepted standards as subjects in international spaces (Greenblatt, 1980). Second, the project also provides context to what these processes means for the identity formation of marginalized students outside of the U.S. Third, the project informs efforts to reconsider approaches to study abroad through informed programmatic, curriculum, and pedagogical practices. Fourth, the research makes a contribution to the literature around studies of first-generation low-income minoritized students in college, but also to the literature on mobility studies at the intersections of race, class, nationality, sexual orientation, immigration, age, and gender in the U.S. Finally, the study provides a sense of the overlooked impacts of this mode of learning which is universalized to promote comfortable notions of a glorified study abroad experience. Given that most scholarship on the benefits of study abroad is based on the experiences of a traditionally overrepresented population, this study expands beyond universalized benefits of study abroad (i.e., intercultural competence, employment gains, language proficiency) and amplifies overlooked benefits experienced by non-white minoritized students. If universalist discourses continue to dominate the field of study abroad, a prevailing message will persist: non-white minoritized students do not exist as study abroad beneficiaries.

Organization of the Study

In this chapter, I posed a guiding question for my research: how do the study abroad experiences of minoritized students contribute to, challenge, and extend our

understandings of the social and academic effects of study abroad in higher education? I identified the problem and purpose and introduced an often-overlooked history of mobility that has structurally rendered people immobile across the U.S. In the following chapter, I review the state of knowledge on the barriers to access and participation in study abroad programs. Chapter Two problematizes universalist approaches to study abroad and critically assesses literature on the structural constraints and interpersonal challenges that marginalized students face abroad. The third chapter presents the methodology of critical discourse analysis of this study. My methodological considerations were shaped by the use of the CRT, mobility justice, an intersectional lens, and CCW frameworks. Through this, I centered the entirety of the participants' lives, stories, experiences, and voices as the most salient mediums through which the impacts of study abroad can be understood.

Review of Chapters 4-7. Chapter Four examines the structural dynamics that heavily constrained participant experiences of mobility prior to studying abroad. In this chapter, I argue that study abroad and educational mobilities are not separate concepts, rather they are intimately connected. Employing the methodology of interviews and a focus group, I find that participants draw on experiences rooted in material and structural constraints to discuss implications of mobility, immobility, and the meanings attached to it. This chapter not only speaks to the relationship between the material and the corporeal nature of travel, but also participants' *imaginative travel* (i.e., experiencing in one's

imagination the "atmosphere of place") (Hannam et al., 2006, p. 14). I identify the structural barriers to mobility that obstructed participant understandings and imaginations of movement rooted in past experiences of forced displacement, immigration regimes, gender and ethnoracial norms, intergenerational immobility effects, as well as their class conditions. I posit that by neglecting differential mobility histories of students in higher education, scholars and practitioners reproduce the dominance of universalist assumptions about the circumstances of potential study abroad participants and the effects of study abroad participation. Notably, this chapter brings to the fore an educational mobility justice lens as a way for scholars and practitioners to examine discursive and material barriers that obstruct the access of intersectionally marginalized groups to educational opportunities, programs, and institutions.

Chapter Five builds on the previous chapter as it investigates the mechanism and techniques that enable participants to overcome their past experiences of immobility by highlighting collective efforts of subversion that disrupt the structural barriers highlighted in Chapter Four. This chapter brings attention to how participants creatively subvert power structures that have governed their family and individual rights to move. This subversion leads participants to discover a sense of freedom through emancipatory forms of movement. This chapter suggests that participant narratives on the benefits of study abroad stand in sharp contrast to universalist notions depicted in literature. Intercultural awareness, career development, and global awareness, among others, serve as the

primary benefits study abroad scholarship promotes. Although participants may experience these benefits, their narratives highlight benefits absent from literature. Chapter Five highlights these benefits as: a participant's ability to imagine possibility beyond material constraints; experiencing a broadening of mobility post-study abroad; independence from unhealthy and challenging circumstances; spillover effects of these benefits to families, friends, and peers; and a reclamation of time and space abroad and at home.

Chapter Six calls attention to the complex ways in which participants make meaning and narrate their experiences abroad. Findings emphasize the importance of meaning making as processes that present opportunities for participants abroad to discursively deconstruct their identity, resist impositions of identity categories, and establish their identity in agentic ways. By problematizing static notions of homogenized identity in study abroad literature, this chapter brings much-needed attention to various ways in which participants self-narrate abroad. In particular, this chapter points to the complex ways that participants understand and explore nationality and their sense of belonging during and after their experiences abroad. The findings in this chapter suggest the complexities that participants face as they grapple with the boundaries and feelings of exclusion that their own country of origin has constructed to keep them or other marginalized groups from membership. In this way, scholars and practitioners in study abroad can seek to understand processes of identity formation that can better represent

how particular grievances of belonging may emerge abroad and how they engender practices that meet their complexity. I conclude the dissertation in Chapter Seven by summarizing the findings and examining the policy implications and suggestions for future scholarship and practices in the field of Comparative and International Development Education.

Chapter Two

Research on the impacts of study abroad depict study abroad participation as universally attractive for students who seek a global experience. Yet, those benefits are not equally available or distributed across different student demographics. Accordingly, study abroad scholarship and programming reflect a narrow set of experiences, but these are used to make large claims about the effects of such programming. The dearth of critical and intersectional analyses of how study abroad experiences are mediated by race contributes to the dominant depictions of study abroad as a universally distributed and consumed good with uniform consequences across social groups.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how and to what extent scholarship discusses racial disparities in study abroad. This study is guided by the central question: how do the study abroad experiences of minoritized students contribute, challenge, and extend our understandings of the social and academic effects of study abroad in higher education? I seek to investigate the differing currents of thought around participation in study abroad, problematize universalist approaches of research on study abroad, and critically assess literature on the structural constraints and interpersonal challenges that minoritized students face prior to and during their time abroad. The following literature review provides a foundation for addressing the research questions in Chapter One and is organized into four sections: 1) market-oriented approaches to study abroad; 2) universalist claims about the social and individual benefits of study abroad; 3) barriers of

access to study abroad; and 4) an intersectional approach to study abroad. While market-oriented and universalist approaches to study abroad research tend to neglect questions of identity and inequality, the literature on barriers to access to study abroad as well as critical and intersectional approaches provide the strongest points of departure for examining the lived experiences of low-income students abroad. This chapter will conclude with an analysis connecting the review of the literature and the way it informs the development of this study.

First, I review study abroad research that adopts a market-oriented approach to the study of economic drivers of participation in study abroad. During the past decade, entities across the entire U.S. higher education landscape promoted study abroad as a means for colleges and universities to graduate global citizens (Twombly et al., 2012). These entities, including governments and institutions of higher education, are increasingly invested in study abroad, as the vast majority of colleges and universities offer study abroad opportunities (Hoffa & DePaul, 2010). The dramatic growth of study abroad in the U.S. took place in the context of political and economic fluctuations, which speaks to the far-reaching appeal of this form of education. Repeatedly, proponents and advocates of study abroad deploy a discourse to advance study abroad that exalts its heroic motives and beneficial outcomes for students, institutions, and participating countries (Twombly et al., 2012). The discursive representation of claimed benefits have been packaged as marketing tools to promote study abroad as a form of financial capital

for institutions all over the world (Deschamps & Lee, 2015; Lee et al., 2006; Lomer, 2014). Consequently, a dominant rationale for study abroad marketing is economically driven, and therefore recruitment strategies tend to target a very specific population of students (i.e., consumers with purchasing power). Analyzed through a consumer lens, minoritized students are seen as a high-risk investment for recruitment and marketing. This literature sheds light on the market-oriented policies and interorganizational relations that further perpetuate inequitable study abroad participation rates across racial and ethnic groups.

The second body of literature will review scholarship that forwards claims about the social and individual benefits of study abroad. Multiple studies claim that the impact of study abroad on students can be profound, regardless of social background. This body of literature, which I refer to as the universalist approach, argues that there are universal benefits of study abroad, which include but are not limited to career impacts such as employment gains, identity development, global citizenship, problem-solving skills, self-awareness, and intercultural competence. Researchers claim that through study abroad, students acquire a broader perspective about the human condition in the world, are confronted with a new sense of history, a widening of horizons, and an appreciation of other cultures (Matz, 1997). Yet, scholarship has little to nothing to say about the experiences of minoritized students and their intercultural development journey while abroad. The implications of excluding the experiences of minoritized students signals that

this population does not exist as study abroad beneficiaries. Despite the growing consensus around the notion that study abroad holds the key for global citizenship, cultural awareness, and intercultural competence, this body of literature tends to neglect the extent to which these benefits are accessible to students from historically underrepresented groups.

The following body of literature will critically assess the state of knowledge on the barriers to access in study abroad programs. In contrast to the prior two bodies of literature, the third body will provide a starting point for identifying and addressing the barriers to access for study abroad participation in the U.S. I will examine research on how programmatic practices tend to fail to support minoritized students in-country as they experience racism, ethnic and racial identity essentialism, and feelings of inadequacy (Baker & Talbot, 2016; Chang, 2017; Lörz et al., 2015; Salisbury et al., 2011; Simon & Ainsworth, 2012). This literature explicitly addresses many of the experiences that characterize minoritized students in study abroad.

Lastly, the final body of literature provides an overview of scholarship that informs an intersectional approach to study abroad. Delgado Bernal (2002) suggested that "with increased globalization and transnational labor and communication, we have to move beyond essentialist notions of identity and of what counts as knowledge" (p. 119). Rather than emphasizing research on students who do not study abroad and the barriers that inhibit them from doing so, this body of literature centers the experiences of students

who *do* study abroad with an intent to understand the multidimensional factors that differentiate and unify shared experiences across identities and space. As a result, I believe that this scholarship represents the strongest point of departure for my research. Despite the strength of these studies, scholarship is scarce and does not consistently contextualize the discussion an intersectional framework in relation to the longstanding structural forms of racial inequity in the U.S.

Participation in Study Abroad: A Market-Based Approach

In this section I review studies that describe the motives for participating in study abroad in higher education. One of the dominant explanations for study abroad participation consists of the market-based approach. The market-based approach treats study abroad as a commodity whose consumption rests on successful marketing strategies, supply and demand market dynamics, and price adjustments that meet the purchasing power of the consumer (i.e. students). Accordingly, in this view, study abroad participation will increase insofar as universities develop sufficient study abroad programming to meet increasing demands. Students, viewed as consumers, are persuaded to purchase the product (i.e. study abroad). Viewed through the market-based lens, the low participation of minoritized students in study abroad is a function of the low profitability of this small sector of the study abroad consumer market. Given the dominance of this view, and the perception of minoritized students as a minute segment of the market, this sector of the student population is not seen as worthy of investments in

marketing or subsidies. Below, I provide trends in study abroad participation and review three studies that fall within the market-based approach for study abroad research.

In an effort to develop best practices in the recruitment of study abroad participants, Lukosius and Festervand (2013) link the success of global programs to the quality of the program's recruitment strategies. The authors claim to have developed a student recruitment model best positioned to recruit short-term study abroad program participants. Lukosius and Festervand (2013) suggest that the overall cost and funding of a program represents one of the most significant factors for study abroad recruitment, followed by the factors of time and duration of the program, and promotion and marketing of study abroad programs. On the basis of this model, Lukosius and Festervand (2013) offer the following strategies to increase participation in study abroad: start early and develop an integrated marketing communication, promote constantly and consistently, use multiple methods of promoting, promote all salient aspects of study abroad, be aggressive, and sell memories.

Lukosius and Festervands' (2013) model offers a linear and market-based understanding of the pathways for increasing study abroad participation. In their summary of the cost and funding factor, the authors posit, "anecdotal evidence suggests that the relationship between the contribution amount and program involvement is linear. The more the student pays, the more intrinsically involved and committed students become" (Lukosius & Festervand, 2013, p. 487). In this view, the dominant rationale for

study abroad recruitment is primary economic and market-oriented. The aforementioned recruitment strategies treat students as a monolithic group and neglect the implications of serving a diverse student body. Consequently, this approach fails to account for the impact of racial and ethnic disparities in study abroad participation.

Bandyopadhyay and Bandyopadhyay (2015) offer further market-oriented explanations that link student intentions to study abroad and university recruitment strategies. They argue that there are various factors that impact a student's decision to study abroad. Aiming to offer practitioners information to further popularize study abroad programs, Bandyopadhyay and Bandyopadhyay (2015) propose causal mechanisms that explain the process by which college students decide to participate in global programs. They state that general perceptions held by students about study abroad programs and the students' level of intercultural awareness will impact three types of expected benefits from study abroad programs, including personal growth, professional development, and intellectual growth (Bandyopadhyay & Bandyopadhyay, 2015). These expectations will, in turn, directly impact students' intention to participate in study abroad. Other direct influences that are likely to impact intention to participation include program duration and cost, educational policies, as well as student demographic characteristics. Yet, Bandyopadhyay and Bandyopadhyay's (2015) framework fails to address other factors that may drive study abroad participation motivational trends among students, such as student habitus, social networks, cultural capital, and heritage programming, among other

institutional factors (Lee & Green, 2016; Simon & Ainsworth, 2012; Tsantir & Titus, 2006).

A focus on the political economy of study abroad and educational policies sheds a much-needed light on the processes by which students gain entry to study abroad experiences. Bandyopadhyay and Bandyopadhyay (2015) call for minor market interventions to ease marginalized students' financial constraints in addition to offering lower cost short-term programs. Market-based approaches tend to call for minor market interventions to increase the demand for study abroad (e.g. policies to ease the cost of study abroad), treating study abroad as a commodity, while failing to account for the systemic barriers to access that marginalized students face. Accounting for these other factors that are neglected under the market-based approach may provide further insight about low participation amongst minoritized students beyond the obvious role of this sector's low purchasing power. The third market-based analysis that I discuss in this chapter provides recommendations of best practices for recruitment efforts for study abroad host institutions and study abroad agencies aiming to attract student participants.

Through a convergence of tourism and education literature, Shin et al.'s (2018) study focuses on the consumers' (i.e. students) decision-making regarding study abroad programs by analyzing benefits as well as risks. The authors argue that study abroad programs represent service convergence by bundling education and tourism services, which requires examination from both education and tourism perspectives. Shin et al.

(2018) built a "validated service evaluation model" (p. 270) for study abroad participants from five host countries. The researchers claim that tourism factors, such as cultural activities, tourist attraction visits, and rich experiences had a greater impact on student decision-making than academic enrichment opportunities. According to the researchers, students aspiring to study abroad consider tourist attractions as the primary decision-making criterion, as well as the level of risk associated with their decision. Further, they find that the student's perception of the appropriateness of housing accommodation was the secondary criterion in their decision-making process. Consequently, Shin et al. (2018) recommend that study abroad administrators or study abroad service agencies should first emphasize tourist attractions followed by housing conditions to increase the percentage of students studying abroad.

Shin et al. (2018) found that students perceived higher risk when the host institution had high academic standards. That is, they were concerned about the host institution enforcing mandatory participation in its programs or excessively pressuring them in terms of academic achievement. Their research recommendations centered their argument around pushing tourism and focus less on academic requirements (Shin et al., 2018). Commoditizing study abroad through market-driven efforts has led researchers to focus on the financial gains rather than the quality of academic study abroad programming. Further, the homogenous sample of students does not lend a voice to diverse participants whose experiences and backgrounds are likely to impact their

decision-making processes and what they may deem as risky and beneficial when analyzing the convergence of education and tourism. In summary, the market-oriented approach to study abroad frames higher education practices of study abroad as a transactional return on investment based on consumer preferences (i.e. participants). These discursive portrayals of market-based participation lead into the second body of literature, the universalist approach to study abroad. Contrary to the economically driven market-oriented approach, the following section seeks to highlight the social and individual benefits participants experience as a result of study abroad.

Benefits of Study Abroad: A Universalist Approach

The number of scholarly articles on study abroad increased by more than 300% at the turn of the 21st century (Cubillos & Ilvento, 2012). The profound growth in literature has led to inflated universalist claims about the benefits of study abroad. However, the homogeneity of the population that participates belies this growth in scholarship. This growing body of work identifies the following benefits of study abroad: 1) improved college graduation rates, 2) increased self-efficacy, and 3) employment and labor market-related benefits. This section focuses on the ways in which the literature on the benefits of study abroad assumes that the benefits of studying abroad extend universally, across identities and subject positions. This ontological assumption, shared by the studies reviewed in this section, leads to the portrayal of study abroad as universally beneficial

and the usage of this discourse for student recruitment without regard to the racial and ethnic disparities of study abroad participation.

To illustrate potential impacts of study abroad on academic success, Dane et al. (2013) examine whether semester-long study abroad has had a positive effect on degree attainment of 106 undergraduates at Old Dominion University (ODU) between fall 2003 and fall 2006. They compared this sample of students to another sample, within the same time frame, of 6,452 students who had not participated in such study abroad programs. They used logistic regression analysis to study the effect of studying abroad on four, five, and six-year graduation rates, controlling for demographics and prior academic achievement factors. According to Dane et al. (2013), while studying abroad for a semester was not a statistically significant predictor for four-year graduation rates, it has significance in predicting five and six-year graduation rates. Among the subsample of study abroad participants at ODU, 79.25% were juniors and seniors. Thus, study abroad participation came too late in a student's academic career to impact four-year graduation.

Dane et al. (2013) argue that encouraging more students to participate in semester long study abroad programs at ODU might be able to improve graduation rates. The underrepresentation of minoritized students in their sample introduced bias in their study, limiting the study's generalizability and its claims about the impact of study abroad on graduation rates. While studying abroad proved impactful as a significant predictor for five and six-year graduation rates, the study's conclusions stem from an empirical

examination of a homogenous, predominantly white population. The study's sampling bias leads the author to generate claims about the universality of the benefits of study abroad that fail to account for the experiences of minoritized students. The following analysis further perpetuates universal claims of study abroad benefits with respect to measurements of self-efficacy among foreign language learners abroad.

The concept of self-efficacy was first introduced in the field of psychology in the late 1970s (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy refers to "beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the course of action required to manage prospective situations" (Bandura, 1997, p. 2). Cubillos and Ilvento (2012) examine the impact of study abroad on self-efficacy beliefs and perceptions among foreign language learners. They fielded pre- and post-program self-efficacy questionnaires to determine the magnitude and significance of changes in perceptions of self-efficacy resulting from the study abroad experiences of University of Delaware students. The authors measured self-efficacy as the acquisition of four language sub-skills: reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Cubillos and Ilvento (2012) found that study abroad participant's self-efficacy changed across all language sub-skills and showed positive and significant gains, with reading and listening skills yielding the highest across-the-board lift.

The researchers posit that foreign language self-efficacy gains are compelling arguments in support of the need to encourage language learners (particularly those completing the basic language requirement) to participate in study abroad experiences,

even short ones. Their study claims that, in addition to longer-term programs, participants in short-term programs experienced significant self-efficacy gains, in spite of the brevity of their program. The findings, however, may hold less promise for understanding the effect of study abroad on self-efficacy across students of various identities, given that 82% of their sample consisted of female participants, and they failed to report on the racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic breakdown of their sample. Neglecting the nuances of identity differences in the process of developing self-efficacy perpetuates the notion that the identity category of students exists as a unitary identity that lacks internal social group heterogeneity. Moreover, the authors outline recommendations for best practices in study abroad recruitment, retention, and program implementation without regard to the varied experiences of minoritized students. In their view, various mediating factors and circumstances contribute to students perceived self-efficacy, specifically on their beliefs, goals, and expectations of themselves as learners. Despite increasing evidence that different socio-demographic groups experience social structure in different ways (Buchanan & Selmon, 2008), this universalist approach fails to consider whether the impact of social group identities on self-efficacy is contingent upon race or other mediating demographic factors. The subsequent analysis will provide further support on beneficial impacts of study abroad in relation to employment benefits post study-abroad.

Jon et al. (2018) employ the identity development framework toward understanding study abroad participants' decisions for careers and perspectives

developed from study abroad. The authors find that study abroad can provide meaningful and long-lasting outcomes, such as helping individuals to become more adaptive and resilient to manage upcoming expected or unexpected career-related tasks and challenges (Jon et al., 2018). Study abroad participation, Jon et al. (2018) argue, leads participants to developing a better understanding of themselves, thereby allowing them to choose work environments more closely aligned with their interests and that they believed were a better fit for them. Lastly, they found that study abroad participants were more likely to choose to work for the public good and community impact. As with most studies that highlight the benefits of study abroad, most of the participants of the Jon et al. (2018) study were white and female. It remains unclear, however, whether the labor market benefits of study abroad extend to minoritized students, given that Black college graduates of all ages consistently have higher underemployment rates and lower wages than their white counterparts, even when Black students complete STEM majors (Jones & Schmitt, 2014). Despite the universalist message that study abroad can lead to competitiveness in the labor market, existing disparities reinforce concerns that systemic racial disadvantages remain an important predictor of financial and professional success in contemporary labor markets. The unchallenged assumption that students experience study abroad in undifferentiated ways leads researchers within the universalist approach to make categorical claims about the labor and employment-related benefits of study abroad.

Finally, within the studies aligned with universalist approaches there is also research that addresses the benefits of intercultural growth as a result of pedagogical interventions while studying abroad. This work employs instruments that measure subjects' intercultural development, or movement along a continuum of five worldviews of increasing sophistication in dealing with cultural difference, moving from more monocultural to more intercultural mindsets (Hammer, 2009). To demonstrate intercultural development amongst a controlled student population while abroad, Pedersen (2009) found that students who received pedagogical intervention in intercultural learning increased in intercultural development to a significantly greater degree than the groups who did not receive intentional intervention. By utilizing a comparative study, Pedersen (2009) analyzed a pre/post control group (group one) who received intentional pedagogical intervention while studying abroad in England; a group (group two) of students who participated in study abroad in the same location and program but were not part of the intervention; and a group (group three) of students who expressed interest in pursuing study abroad in the future. The control group received coaching within the theoretical framework of the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS). The DMIS (Bennett, 1986, 1993, 2004) looks at "orientations toward cultural difference" as a progressive and developmental process. The DMIS categorizes individuals into six orientations. There are three ethnocentric orientations (Denial, Defense, and Minimization) which identify individuals whose own culture is central to

their understanding of reality, and three ethnorelative orientations (Acceptance, Adaptation, Integration) where one's culture is experienced in the context of other cultures (Bennett, 1986, 1993, 2004). Pedersen (2009) employed the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) instrument to measure five of the six major stages of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) (Hammer, 2007).

Through the use of intentional pedagogical intervention and analysis of the pre and post-test IDI, Pedersen (2009) found that group one moved along the developmental continuum to a significantly greater degree than the other groups. Additionally, as a result of their exposure to the DMIS curriculum, group one had a more accurate reflection of their intercultural sensitivity in comparison to the other groups. The result also demonstrated that group one tended to hold a more solid sense of cultural self while increasing their ability to navigate the culture of "other" (Petersen, 2009). Interestingly, group two did not move along the DMIS, as measured by the IDI, by mere participation in the program. Following, Petersen (2009) argued that intentional intervention and involved curriculum design fostered intercultural education in study abroad. Variables such as gender, fluency in a second language, out-of-class activities, and home stay experiences were taken into consideration as factors that may or may not have impacted changes in participants' IDI scores.

However, in Petersen's (2009) study, there was no mention of race, ethnicity, or participant income levels. Additionally, the design and implementation of intercultural

competence curricula in study abroad must be conscious of the potentially exploitive nature of relying on minoritized students to transform a group's cultural understanding. Minoritized students travel a different road than their white counterparts, and they expend energies that their peers may not experience while overcoming macro/micro-level challenges throughout their experience. Without careful examination of the experiences of minoritized students and the disruption of discourses that portrays students as a homogenous population, racial stereotypes and microaggressions abroad can be ignored or downplayed, leading to distressing consequences which can potentially impact students' intercultural development. This body of literature consistently represents study abroad as beneficial for all students as a homogenous population with little differentiation of participant's fluid and complex identities. The overgeneralized benefits in self-efficacy (Cubillos & Ilvento, 2012), employment gains (Jon et al., 2018), increased rates of graduation (Dane et al., 2013), and intercultural development (Petersen, 2009), revolve around a distinct prototype (i.e., white, middle-class, female). As a result, the scholars in this study and the other studies reviewed within the universalist approach, consciously or unconsciously, negate the varied and complex experiences of first-generation, low-income minoritized students. Given that most scholarship on the benefits of study abroad is based on the experiences of a traditionally overrepresented population, more research is needed to examine whether the benefits of study abroad extend to non-white

minoritized students. The subsequent section begins to lend a voice to those students who are so often ignored in study abroad research.

Barriers of Access to Study Abroad: A Critical Approach

There is a relevant, though emergent literature that is important to consider in light of the experiences of low-income minoritized students in study abroad. By disturbing the comfortable notions of a glorified study abroad experience and calling attention to the existing inequality within study abroad, this section explores the use of research that critically frames many of the barriers persistent in study abroad. Discussions of beneficial outcomes fail to challenge the uneven access to it. This body of literature, which I refer to as the critical approach to study abroad research, explicitly addresses the experiences of minoritized students. The critical approach to study abroad research draws from Critical Race Theory (CRT) which "challenges notions of 'neutral' research that silences, ignores, and distorts epistemologies of People of color" (Yosso, 2005, p. 73). CRT evolved out of critical legal studies in the 1980s as a form of scholarly resistance that rejected traditional positivistic forms of research (Bell, 1995). CRT scholars argue that oppression is best understood from the collective wisdom, experiences, or vantage point of the oppressed (Leonardo, 2009). While critical discourse in study abroad research is sparse, the following authors seek to problematize dominant approaches in study abroad research by calling for greater recognition of the unequal distribution of access, experiences, and said benefits in study abroad.

Offering a critique of the socioeconomic barriers in study abroad in Germany, Lörz et al.'s (2015) study examines the meanings, intentions, and likelihood of underprivileged students studying abroad. Lörz et al. (2015) asked why underprivileged students intend to study abroad less often than privileged students. Lörz et al. (2015) pointed out that underprivileged students study abroad less frequently as a result of social inequality. The researchers found that underprivileged students perceived study abroad as less beneficial, and concluded that the inequality between those who choose not to study abroad those who do resulted from decisions made early on in students' educational career and to a lesser extent the high cost associated with study abroad. This led the authors to recommend that policymakers create financially assisted international opportunities for underprivileged students early on in their educational careers. Lörz et al. (2015) concluded that enacting financial aid policies for prospective study abroad minoritized participants will result in a higher likelihood of studying abroad again later on in life. These findings offer the field of study abroad refreshing insight into the perceptions of underprivileged populations in relation to study abroad experiences, yet race and ethnicity are not confronted in the research.

Salisbury et al. (2011)'s study included a critical analysis of race that identified the differences between white and marginalized students in their intentions to study abroad. The authors found that minoritized students' habitus is not resistant to study abroad and that their intentions to study abroad do not differ significantly from their

white peers. Salisbury et al. (2011) refer to habitus (as cited in Bourdieu & Passerson, 1977) as "the enduring beliefs, attitudes, aspirations, perceptions and values an individual acquires through home and school environments and social class that serve to frame and constrain their choices" (p. 126). Importantly, their research moves away from the universalist tradition of study abroad discourse toward a critical approach to examine mechanisms that perpetuate inequality among Black and low socioeconomic students. Through the lens of economic theory of human capital and the sociological theories of habitus and cultural capital, Salisbury et al. (2011) analyzed student intent within an adapted student choice construct across measures of human, financial, social, and cultural capital. The authors found that student choice construct have shown to influence aspirations to study abroad. Utilizing data from the Wabash National Study of Liberal Arts Education, the research examined a breadth of data from 6,828 students at 53 two and four-year institutions. Comparing data on the basis of student intent to study abroad, critical analysis of each racial group produced substantially different findings across many of the variables in the model. The authors explained that the measures of student intent coupled with habitus shape a student's decision-making. The findings emphasized the importance of understanding the unique contexts from which students approach the postsecondary experience. Study abroad is often marketed as if all students should be attracted to study abroad for the same reasons. Salisbury et al. (2011) argued that their findings suggest that some of the most widely used arguments in favor of participation –

that study abroad will provide opportunities for cross-cultural skill development and improve postgraduate career opportunities – appeared to have no effect on increasing study abroad intent among marginalized students. Universalizing approaches to study abroad recruitment and communication results in maintaining the homogenous student base which studies abroad.

Simon and Ainsworth (2012) provide a broader yet nuanced examination of the roles that both race and socioeconomic status play in contributing to disparities in study abroad participants in the U.S. Quantitative results revealed that, after controlling for socio-economic status, Blacks and Hispanics did not differ from white peers in terms of participation in study abroad. The authors concluded that marginalized students' habitus is not resistant to study abroad. However, poor minoritized students are embedded in social networks that are less conducive to study abroad participation because they receive less verbal encouragement from their families and are less likely to have a peer network who have studied abroad. Qualitative results demonstrated that micropolitical processes between students and study abroad faculty and staff also affect race and class disparities in study abroad participation. Whether students form positive relationships with university gatekeepers is likely dependent upon the cultural capital they activate during micro-political interactions. Simon and Ainsworth (2012) contributed to research on the sociology and politics of study abroad by examining an understudied topic, informing

practitioners on the reproduction of inequality, and how that can be manifested in other processes in higher education.

Narrowing their scope of student subjects yet expanding study abroad research to critically explore in-country experiences, Chang (2017) examined Latina students' motivations for, participation in, and experiences studying abroad. Chang (2017) analyzed four Latinas studying abroad in Guatemala among a group of predominantly white women. Through an ethnographic case study, the researcher sought to understand how the U.S. Latinas navigated their four-week academic, cultural, linguistic, and social experiences. The themes that were produced included cultural dissonance among Latinas and the disconnection of white students' behavior relative to Latinas/os; reflection of past, present, and privilege in comparison to Guatemalan citizens; and critical consumption of knowledge through informal, formal, and higher-order thinking. Through her research, Chang (2017) seeks to inform policies and practices of study abroad programs nationwide. According to Chang (2017):

> Higher education institutions need to view minoritized students as significant contributors to the learning that takes place in study abroad as their identities present a strength in contributing to the larger discourses around globalization, equity, and social justice. It would be ironic to tout internationalization on a global level when domestically, U.S. higher education institutions are failing to diversify study abroad programs within their own nation. (p. 19)

Through her critical analyses, Chang (2017) refreshingly departs from the uniform ways in which study abroad is examined. Though Chang's (2017) narrow analysis lacks theoretical underpinnings, it provides basis for further research.

Delving profoundly into critical analyses, Baker and Talbot (2016) examined several examples of racist acts, practices, and rhetoric based on practical experiences of study abroad programs. Through the use of CRT, themes that arose from their analyses included: whiteness as property worth protecting abroad versus disposable possessions; photography as a medium of unchecked racial stereotyping; racism perpetuated in the choice of traditional study abroad locations; and essentializing minoritized students in study abroad experiences based on their racial and ethnic identities. Baker and Talbot (2016) discussed potential strategies for subverting racism in study abroad programs by: meeting local identified needs via mechanisms the community identifies versus imparting colonialist power; addressing the intersections of race with other identities abroad so students can create a counter-narrative to the otherwise singular representation of the local community seen in advertisements, which can lead students to develop a more complex understandings of the intersections of race with other identities in the U.S.; building on principles of inclusiveness for underrepresented domestic students; and critically examining the experiences of U.S. involvement abroad with critical introspection on one's own privilege.

Furthering work underpinned in critical analysis, Thomas (2012) challenges the ways in which race and ethnicity are problematized in study abroad literature. Thomas (2012) argues that the approach of categorizing bodies that do and do not participate in study abroad has been a longstanding tradition in study abroad research. Gender has been a frequent point of comparison with a focus on females outnumbering male bodies. Yet it is the categorization of minoritized students that evoke colonized ways of representing data through "binary oppositional comparisons" (Thomas, 2012, p. 373) that highlight the hierarchical relationship between white participants and minoritized students (Thomas, 2012). This practice of drawing attention to the study abroad participation levels of minoritized students and obscuring those of white students has the effect of normalizing the participation of white students, establishing low participation as problematic for minoritized students, and positioning failure to participate in study abroad as uniquely and specifically a phenomenon for minoritized students. Thomas (2013) argues,

> Presenting the study abroad participation of white students in this way highlights their overrepresentation in study abroad and generates the impression that these students participate in study abroad at much greater levels than racial/ethnic minority students. This tactic of emphasizing the overrepresentation of white students in U.S. study abroad obscures a significant reality: the rate at which these students participate in study abroad as a percentage of their total enrollment in U.S. higher education is less than 2%. (p. 373)

Rather than highlighting the weightier issue that the U.S. faces in competitively sending students abroad, the problem is often framed by highlighting minoritized students and their inability to keep pace with their white peers.

Further problematization of barriers for minoritized students have been defined through deficit-oriented language such as financial "constraints" (NAFSA, 2003; Salisbury, 2011) or "lack" of interest, awareness, structural support, or financial ability (Thomas, 2012). These barriers are posed as unique circumstances for minoritized students but are in no way limited to this student group. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2019) reports that regardless of race, 81% of full-time undergraduates receive financial aid. Moreover, ethnoracial diverse students are just as likely as white students to know about and make use of available financial aid and scholarship monies to pursue study abroad (Hembroff & Rusz, 1993; Wick, 2011). Operating from a deficit-oriented discourse strips student of color of their intersecting identity, their beliefs, their worldview, and their ways of knowing. Furthermore, minoritized students "do not operate from a point of lack, constraint, or even external barriers, but from social, historical and cultural contexts that differently shapes their relationship to and engagement" (Thomas, 2012, p. 379) with mobility and study abroad. Treating the categories of minoritized students en masse obscures differences and disempowers individuals, while ethnoracial group experiences are only meaningful insomuch as they deviate from the unmarked norm of a white, middle-class, cisgender,

non-disabled, heterosexual, college student. The following section introduces intersectionality as a discipline for analysis by centering historically underrepresented voices in study abroad.

An Intersectional Approach to Study Abroad

Intersectional analysis offers descriptive and explanatory power, particularly for understanding the complexities of experiences at the nexus of multiple dimensions of oppression and privilege (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). Hill Collins (1998) acknowledges that a focus on intersectional identities is not a question of adding one oppression to the next as distinct social hierarchies, but rather an examination of how gender, race, class, and origin mutually construct each other. Such an emphasis on multiple junctures for intersectional identities suggests that through the performative nature of the identity development experience, issues of power and agency may be revealed (Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014). This approach offers a unique lens through which to learn about the influence of study abroad on the identity development of minoritized students, which is most often analyzed in a homogenized and oppressive institutional context that fails to appreciate their heterogeneity. Consequently, this section represents the strongest point of departure in addressing my research questions.

Despite the overwhelmingly female make up of study abroad student participation, there is limited research that explores questions of gender and study abroad. Rawlins' (2012) research examines how eighteen young women experienced, interpreted,

and conceptualized gendered interactions, including harassment, in public spaces while traveling abroad. Despite the difficulties students faced abroad, almost all of the young women interviewed expressed that their time abroad increased their self-confidence and made them feel empowered as a result of overcoming the various challenges they met. The qualitative interviews took place post-study abroad with a timeline that varied between one to three years after the participants returned from their time abroad. In particular, Rawlins (2012) examined the intersections of gender, race, and nation. Participants overwhelmingly vocalized their intent of distancing themselves from the negative stereotypes of Americans abroad, including acting assertive, unrestrained, morally loose, and possibly promiscuous (Rawlins, 2012). Half of the participants said that as a result of the negative stereotypes they perceived others to hold about Americans, they did not always wish to be identified as Americans. Findings further specified that about half of the students indicated that their personal boundaries were regularly breached by men during their interactions abroad and that normative differences in social interaction made them feel uncomfortable (Rawlins, 2012). Despite Rawlins' findings, which overwhelmingly demonstrate the personal development of participants, the research is brimming with limitations.

Rawlins (2012) relied heavily on Stewart and Talburt's (1999) research which was one of the first bodies of literature that recognized an intersection of race and gender. Albeit Talburt and Stewart's (1999) research also essentialized and potentially exploited

the experiences of Misheila, the only Black student involved in their study. At one point, as Rawlins (2012) describes one of the four African-American women she interviewed, the author indicates that Jennifer spoke "eloquently of her struggles" (p. 493). Rawlins' gave reference to Jennifer's narrative as "eloquent" when the same wasn't highlighted for other participants. In employing a literary microaggression, the author's language signals that eloquence is beyond the intellectual reach of minoritized participants. Further, Rawlins neglected the intellectual history and nuances of the field of intersectionality and how these may inform the experiences of study abroad participants. Given these constraints, the following analysis of Willis' (2015) study moves closer to my research interests by exploring experiences of Black woman abroad through an intersectional framework.

Highlighting the salience of an intersectional approach to understand possible experiences of Black women abroad through their collective counter narrative, Willis (2015) employed an intersectionality lens which argues that sexism, racism, and classism are inextricably linked, and therefore, their intersection must be considered for more meaningful and accurate analysis of oppression (hooks, 1994). Willis (2015) argues that there is little work that examines the various factors that influence how minoritized students experience their time abroad, particularly participants who are from community colleges. In focusing her research on community college students, Willis (2015) contributes to research by filling a gap in literature that is even larger than that of

research on minoritized students. In her qualitative study, Willis (2015) interviewed 19 women who were alumni from programs who studied in the regions of the British Isles, the Mediterranean, and West Africa. Although Willis (2015) explores race and gender, she acknowledges that a fully intersectional gaze beyond these two dimensions was outside the scope of her research. Complexities in adopting intersectionality as a lens include challenging researchers to acknowledge what is brought into view and what is eclipsed (Dhamoon, 2011). While a particular focus in any given study can be appropriate, a pattern of limited attention across research studies can create implicit prototypes of intersectionality (e.g., race and gender) and render invisible some dimensions of people's experiences (e.g., class and sexual orientation) (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). Accordingly, one way to challenge these implicit prototypes in translations of intersectionality is to identify and redress the limited focus on some axes of power as demonstrated by Willis's acknowledgement of a limited intersectional gaze.

The most pressing findings and premise of the article relate to the following question posed to participants: "How are racial and gender microaggressions experienced and managed by African American female community college students in heritage versus non-heritage destinations?" (Willis, 2015, p. 213). Many of the women in this study had emancipatory experiences that raised their consciousness of themselves as potent agents in the worlds (Willis, 2015). Yet, the occurrence of microaggressions appear pervasive across all domains of inquiry (Willis, 2015). One participant in particular, Lanelle,

studied abroad in Spain as a nontraditional aged student. In her interview, Lanelle recalls circumstances with her host family including being the only student who was denied a key to the home, a host mother who constantly referred to her dark skin, and a host father who would watch pornography when she was the only one in the home with him. Although the participant resisted drawing conclusions about the incidents, she did wonder if her body shape, gender, age, and race were a reason for this treatment (Willis, 2015).

Other findings included instances of microaggressions and feelings of racial isolation experienced by participants from their white peers, and common occurrences of sexual harassment or assault in the host country. Through an intersectional analysis, her study revealed experiences that "have not previously been deeply explored in study abroad research" (Willis, 2015, p. 226) and "offers compelling insight into the realities of study abroad for a very underserved and important set of students" (p. 226). Through amplifying the participants' collective voice, Willis (2015) moves beyond conversations of access to study abroad toward a conversation on the quality of the experiences of marginalized students while abroad. This leads her to make recommendations which considers structural implications of campus climate, staff preparedness, and diversity of peers in travel groups to meet diverse student needs. Adopting an intersectional lens can help garner insight on aspects of participants' social diversity and how it shapes students' experience with peers and others abroad. For instance, David Wick (2011)'s study adopts

both a CRT and an intersectional lens to amplify the narratives of minoritized students abroad.

In addition to the CRT and intersectional framework, Wick (2011) also applied Yossos' (2005) community cultural wealth, Bhabhas' construct of Third Space (2004), and Delgado Bernal's (2002) multidimensional identity. These theories complement the theoretical interventions of CRT and intersectional approach and propose a fundamental reexamination of the purpose and practice of study abroad (Wick, 2011). Recognizing the underrepresentation of people of color in study abroad as a symptom of systemic inequity, Wick (2011) gained the perspectives of study abroad minoritized students through examining the process of negotiating the intersections of race, ethnicity, and other social locations through study abroad. Wick's (2011) study was based on 47 students enrolled at San Francisco State University who participated in six post-study abroad interviews and five focus groups. While this is important work, it is not necessarily representative of institutions and regions across the country, particularly in the Midwest.

Wick's (2011) findings suggest that study abroad is a transformative process that begins when students believe that is it possible and take steps to apply. In addition, Wick (2011) argues that the time abroad creates a Third Space in which students can leverage their community cultural wealth in order to negotiate a global identity and develop agency for global citizenship. Further, Wick (2011) posits that student narratives in this

study lend support to arguments that study abroad can promote citizenship, democratization, and humanization for participants and their host communities. I will be extending Wick's work by 1) addressing my positionality which Wick only briefly touched upon through recognition of his role as the participants' study abroad advisor; 2) analyzing minoritized first-generation, low-income students; 3) including participants from various two- and four-year colleges and universities across the U.S.; and 4) positioning my study in consideration of the historical overview and implications of mobility in the U.S. and the structural mechanisms in place which have historically repressed the mobility of minoritized students abroad. Drawing on the interventions proposed by scholars working in CRT – an intersectional approach and cultural common wealth theory – resolves many of the limitations and gaps of the universal and market-based approaches to the study of study abroad. Specifically, CRT coupled with an intersectional analysis is suited to recognize, emphasize, and celebrate situated knowledge and multidimensional perspectives of those traditionally silenced in study abroad literature. As such, this is the approach that holds the most promise and relevance for my investigation.

Summary of Literature

This analytical review of study abroad has been examined through the lenses of the aforementioned bodies of literature. I refer to these bodies as a) market-oriented approaches to study abroad; b) universalist claims about the social and individual benefits

of study abroad; c) barriers of access to study abroad; and d) an intersectional approach to study abroad. In this section I examine the potential explanatory and analytical purchase of these approaches for the study of the relationships between identity formation and study abroad and for identity and meaning-making experiences of minoritized students abroad.

I argue that the market-based approach provides inadequate understandings of the formation of identities, given that studies under this theoretical approach conceive of students as consumers, that their primary identity is based on their role as consumers, and, accordingly, that decisions to go abroad and experiences while abroad will be shaped by cost-benefit analyses, marketing strategies, and risk assessments. Rather, I draw on existing research to propose that decision-making on the question of going abroad is the result of complex cognitive processes and socioeconomic considerations. Recognizing a variety of factors affecting adult higher education participation abroad beyond financial aid, Nguyen-Voges' (2015) work seeks to review the methodological shortcomings of extant studies that assess influences on study abroad participation and solutions to encourage future participation. Nguyen-Voges (2015) identifies five groups of explanations of individual drivers for study abroad participation: personal, academic, institutional, social, and financial. Nguyen-Voges (2015) suggests that, while goals of a given study abroad program play a part in an individual's positive perception of that particular program, the ultimate motivation to act extends beyond marketing tactics and

lies at the intersection of a more dynamic interplay of cognitions. The author's findings reveal a need to include socio-cultural considerations of perceptions of and motivations to study abroad. Nguyen-Voges' (2015) article challenges the notion that student perceptions of the benefits of study abroad are not a mere cost-benefit analysis whereby students ask whether the investment will yield sufficient returns. Rather, Nguyen-Voges (2015) argues that perceptions of study abroad are informed by a complex array of cognitive factors.

Viewing study abroad participation as a multidimensional issue, determined by both actual and perceived influences on participation, will yield increased understanding of the relationship between the barriers for participation and justifications for not participating (Nguyen-Voges, 2015). Although this literature is a departure from Lukosius and Festervand (2013) and Bandyopadhyay and Bandyopadhyay's (2015) market-focused research, it fails to address how the reproduction of micro-political processes within higher education reproduce systemic inequalities which in turn effect student motivations to participate abroad. While I remain critical of market-based approaches that tend to simplify complex cognitive decision-making mechanisms, it is important to also entertain the potential relevance of the market-based approach in times in which neoliberal discourse and philosophies retain their hegemony and have come to dominate decision-making processes at the institutional and the individual level.

Second, my research examines the explanatory purchase of the universalist approach, whose paradigmatic coherence rests on the problematic assumption that there is a universal and unitary "student" identity that informs how students experience and make meaning of study abroad. I argue that this assumption goes mostly unquestioned in dominant study abroad research. Alternatively, the universalist approach may be the result of a troubling tendency in study abroad research: the sampling bias of researchers who fail to draw a diverse enough sample that would allow them to explore the role of subaltern identities on a student's experience and identity formation during study abroad. The prevalence of the notion of study abroad as a good with universally distributed benefits is a consequence of ideological and discursive practices that permeate in the production of hegemonic knowledge and inequitable power relations in the field of study abroad. Here, ideology[3] refers to the ways in which society adopt the ideas, beliefs, and interests of the dominant white and affluent student who studies abroad. Whereas hegemony expresses how those with social, political, or cultural capital within higher education influence dominant representations and discourses that serve as representation of those societal beliefs (Kim, 2012). As a result, through ideological and hegemonic

[3] Informed by critical social theory, Karl Marx's (1977) model of ideology describes the process through which dominant ideas within a given society reflect the interests of a ruling economic class. The market-oriented approach to study abroad posits that insofar as white affluent elites serve as the primary financial revenue generator, they will also represent the locus of power in study abroad.

means, many fields within higher education fundamentally exclude certain students by privileging the dominant interests of others. In this way, the field of study abroad, and, more broadly, international education, use universalist notions of study abroad to represent and create discourse around the white, middle-to upper class, traditional-aged female as the ideal and exclusive beneficiary of study abroad.

Lastly, my research builds on the CRT tradition of an intersectional analysis to examine the extent to which a student's subject position at the intersection of various identities influences how study abroad shapes identity formation. Although I suggest that more critical reflections on positionality could enhance this body of work, I expect CRT to be best equipped to examine the barriers, meaning-making, and identity formation processes that characterize the phenomena of study abroad. A belief that all students have equal access to study abroad and experience the same universal particularities of those who dominate literature is illogical given that people of color have experienced differential treatment in mobility and education that persists today. I draw from CRT to propose that barriers to entry and barriers abroad are situated within a historical context of oppression. When minoritized students study abroad, they do so with fluid conceptions of their intersectional identities. Rather than taking these identities for granted or assuming that they can or should be fixed, I call for their further exploration so as to improve the understanding of how individual and collective experiences during study

abroad may shape a student's conception of self, cultural norms, and sociopolitical phenomena.

Drawing from the literature mentioned above, this study develops several lines of inquiry: Are the perceived benefits of study abroad as universal as they are marketed to be? How do dominant universalist assumptions about the benefits of study abroad contrast with the lived experiences abroad of minoritized students? Lastly, how do student participants understand their study abroad experiences, in relation to informing and giving meaning to their conceptions of self? This project builds on CRT and intersectional approaches to study abroad research with the aim of challenging the normativity of market-oriented and universalist approaches. By uncovering systems of power that produce differential mobilities to study abroad, centralizing identity, challenging dominant discourses, and portraying participants from a non-deficit perspective, CRT methodology allows me to illuminate participant narratives through their unique experiential knowledge. The following chapter will provide an overview of rationale of epistemology, methods, participants, research procedures, and data analysis.

Chapter Three

Methods

The prior two chapters contextualized the barriers to study abroad participation in relation to the history of constrained social mobility of marginalized groups in the U.S. This dissertation explores and amplifies the voices of minoritized low-income, first-generation alumni participants. My study advances new understandings of how participants navigate their subject position at the intersection of various identities, and how they self-narrated while studying abroad. I do so through a critical theoretical approach, specifically through drawing on the ideas of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and mobility justice which allowed me to examine inequity in study abroad and have been important lenses through which to formulate the methodological considerations approaches of this study. These methodological considerations are expanded on in more detail in the course of this chapter.

This chapter presents the epistemological underpinnings that guided the qualitative approach to this study. Second, it presents the use of an exploratory case study as the methodological means of addressing my research questions. I go on to provide details of the procedures used for data collection and provide an overview of data analysis procedures. The remainder of the chapter discusses ethical considerations and validity threats, limitations of the study, and a summary of the research methodology.

Research Questions

Existing research on study abroad centers the experiences of the dominant group (i.e., middle-class, white, female) as the universal standard for those studying abroad. This practice of producing knowledge that centers dominant voices denies autonomy to a multitude of students with complex identities, all of whom often remain unnamed and unimagined in study abroad literature. In this view, understandings, interpretations and framings of dominant group experiences determine how "existence is recognized or refused, significance is assigned or ignored, beings elevated or rendered invisible" (Goldberg, 2000, p. 155). These epistemological practices that center the experiences of dominant groups reify and reproduce hierarchies of power and oppression. There is a gap in literature that leads to a failure to recognize, amplify, and give credence to the experiences of low-income, first-generation minoritized students and how they navigate their identity within the complexities of a study abroad experience. This study sought to address this gap in literature by recognizing, giving credence to, and amplifying the voices and experiences of those who are often ignored in literature. The following research questions framed my study:

1. How do universalist assumptions about the benefits of study abroad that dominate literature compare and contrast with the lived, social and academic experiences abroad of minoritized students?
2. How do alumni participants understand their study abroad experiences, in relation to informing and giving meaning to their conceptions of self?

Epistemology

Power is exercised epistemologically through the construction of knowledge, which names and evaluates that which is deemed significant (Goldberg, 2000). The universalist claims of study abroad literature silence entire bodies that fall outside of these dominant ideologies. Countering the inequitable social processes that structure study abroad literature, I draw from the critical constructivist tradition of CRT, which proposes that phenomena are to be perceived through multiple, varied, subjective, and complex lenses (Guba & Lincoln, 2003). My research is both informed by and builds upon CRT assertions to examine the extent to which a student's subject position at the intersection of various identities influences how study abroad shapes identity formation.

The constructivist inquirer "must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors" (Schwandt, 1998, p. 222). Throughout this study, CRT was best equipped to examine the barriers, meaning-making, and identity formation processes that characterize the phenomena of study abroad given its epistemology that deals not with what we know, but how we know – our way of knowing (Kegan, 2000). Critical Race Theory acknowledges an interactive relationship between the researcher and participants as well as between the participants and their stories. Within this worldview, alumni stories of their experiences abroad are counted as empirical evidence. Moreover, the aim of constructivist inquiry is to authentically understand, reconstruct, and represent the

knowledge and voice of active participants (Guba & Lincoln, 2003). Critical Race Theory "challenges notions of 'neutral' research that silences, ignores, and distorts epistemologies of People of Color" (Yosso, 2005, p. 73). This paradigm relies on the narratives and lived experiences of the disenfranchised to understand how they make meaning of study abroad participation and its impacts on their livelihoods.

For social researchers, like those working from the CRT perspective, the way of knowing reality is by asking about it, eliciting reflection, and querying dominant assumptions and universal truths (i.e., via experience stories). Further, the methodological approach employed in this study is defined by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Scholars have used CDA to investigate the social issues manifested in the use of language such as forms of oppression and domination (Fairclough, 1992). The aim of using CRT and CDA becomes critical and emancipatory, for they make apparent whose beliefs and values have been authorized and whose have been silenced (Dieronitou, 2014).

I analyze the silencing of first-generation, low-income minoritized students in study abroad literature. The following chapters also highlight the ways in which research depicts and distorts minoritized students as a population that is ridden with barriers and inabilities as they navigate their experiences abroad. Furthermore, as evidenced by the lacuna within the study abroad and international education literature, it is impossible to untangle the experiences with and responses to racism and classism in study abroad.

Through the use of theories that endeavor to center the entirety of their lives, knowledges, and social relations, such as CCW, an intersectional analysis, and mobility justice, I argue that students' stories, experiences, and voices are the most salient mediums through which the impacts of study abroad on students are understood. Critical race theorists argue that only by looking at the stories and having access to the experiential knowledge of those who have been victimized by racial inequities can we understand the socially ingrained and systemic forces at work in their oppression (Pizarro, 1999). I depart from a critical constructivist epistemology to account for the impact of race and structural inequity on students' meaning making and differential participation in study abroad.

CRT as a Theoretical Point of Entry

A CRT framework informs my methodology by acknowledging the pervasiveness of racism and other structural forms of oppression, including differential mobilities of communities of color, in American society and across geographical contexts. In this study I drew from various tenets of CRT to identify their emergence in participant narratives. These tenets include counter-storytelling, the permanence of racism, whiteness of property, and critique of liberalism (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998; McCoy, 2006). Examining study abroad through the various tenets of CRT allowed me to uncover the engrained disparities that support a system of systemic racism, privilege, and oppression in U.S. study abroad. Below I discuss the CRT tenets that informed this study.

Counter-storytelling. Counter-storytelling is a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the masternarrative of study abroad (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Masternarratives are described by CRT theorist Delgado (1989) and Ikemoto (2000) as the dominant discourse which reinforces group identity by placing the dominant group above all subordinated groups and naming these dominant discourses as normative points of reference (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Masternarratives exclude and diminish minoritized students, particularly those from low-socioeconomic backgrounds. Counter-storytelling is a method of "telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society)" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 32). Counter-narratives expose dominant racial ideologies and provide evidence as to how these narratives are false (Merriweather-Hunn et al., 2006). In this way, I focused on the stories and narratives of participants to reveal the experiences with and responses to racism, classism, genderism, and other forms of oppression within study abroad and in a sociohistorical context (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Further, I sought to examine how these experiences intersected. Drawing from a CRT framework for CDA is crucial to understanding the experiences of students abroad because storytelling is racialized, gendered, and classed, and these stories affect racialized, gendered and classed communities (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). This tenet aided me in analyzing how low-income, first-generation minoritized students and their counternarratives compared or contrasted with majoritarian stories and the universalist assumptions.

Permanence of racism. One of the basic premises of CRT is the notion that "racism is a permanent component of American life" (Bell, 1992, p. 13). Whether consciously perceived or unconsciously manifested, racism plays a dominant role in peoples' lived experiences through the racist structures that govern political, economic, and social domains (Decuir & Dixson, 2004). In higher education, researchers can analyze racism through a lens that examines the impact of structural and institutional racism. Analyzing study abroad disparities through a lens that recognizes the permeance of racism allowed me to link the experiences of students abroad to the historical context of differentiated mobility in the U.S. This particular tenet was central in examining the universalist assumptions that have historically privileged white, middle class females as the primary beneficiaries of study abroad.

Whiteness as property. A third tenet of CRT that I examine, whiteness as property, functions on three levels: the right of possession, the right to use, and the right to disposition (Harris, 1995). Furthermore, the right to transfer, the right of use and enjoyment, and the right of exclusion are essential attributes associated with property (Decuir & Dixson, 2004). Further, I argue that physical, embodied, and spatial mobility are other underexamined aspects of whiteness as property. As discussed in Chapter One, the right to high quality education, mobility in the U.S., and fair housing were designed to be exclusively possessed and enjoyed by whites. Study abroad arose to facilitate the international mobility of the privileged, further reinforcing and perpetuating that only

white individuals can benefit from global experiences. This tenet enabled me to uncover the racist and structural underpinnings of study abroad that have withheld opportunities of mobility to low-income communities of color, and immigrants to the U.S.

Critique of liberalism. The final tenet I utilized in my research stems from the ideas of color-blindness, the neutrality of the law, and equal opportunity for all (Decuir & Dixson, 2004). CRT scholars posit that colorblindness ignores the fact that inequity, inopportunity, and oppression are historical artifacts that will not easily be remedied by ignoring race nor does it eliminate the fact that racism persists (Decuir & Dixson, 2004). Arguing that laws are neutral and opportunities are equal is insufficient in addressing the inequity that has yet to be dismantled. Further, CRT rejects the notion that marginalized groups have made incremental gains. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) argue that "those most satisfied with incremental change are those less likely to be directly affected by oppressive and marginalized conditions" (p. 29). Commitments to these liberal ideas of equality fail to address deeply embedded racist policies and practices. Oftentimes, institutions tout that global opportunities are available for all students regardless of race or income. This particular tenet allowed me to explore this superficial discourse in study abroad that claims global access and equality for all students and leads me to call for more fair and just opportunities for marginalized students in addition to post-colonial considerations for study abroad design and implementation. Furthermore, it allowed me

to unpack the deficit-framing narratives that position minoritized students as the cause for barriers to access and opportunities rather than the inhibiting structures in place.

My research questions positioned within the above outlined CRT tenets centered minoritized participants and their navigation of intersecting modalities of oppression. Further, through participant storytelling, I examined how those experiences contributed to identity formation for first-generation, low-income minoritized students. Drawing from reflections on my marginality and shared experiences with participants as low-income and first-generation minoritized students, I employed various data collection techniques that were deeply participatory and empowering for both researcher and participants. Employing critical inquiry allowed me to utilize data collection techniques that amplified personal narratives through rich storytelling. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this study took place during an uncertain period of time when social distancing and quarantine have become the norm. As a result, I used video-conference semi-structured interviews and an online focus group as my data collection techniques. Further, I employed an exploratory case study design to understand the lived experiences of my participants within a bounded system. The following section will review the literature on case study as it relates to my research.

Case Study

Working within an exploratory case study best addressed my research questions within an inductive qualitative paradigm. Merriam (2009) defines case study as "an in-

depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (p. 40). Exploratory case studies are appropriate when the researcher seeks to gain an extensive and in-depth description of a complex social phenomenon (Yin, 2014). Moving beyond Merriam's definition of case study, Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) assert that researchers can approach case studies critically to understand power relations across time and space. The CRT tenets informed my research as I sought to consider the phenomena of study abroad within a historical understanding of the structures, policies, and practices that have shaped mobility in the U.S. Thus, CRT provided the historical context of the phenomena that I examined in my case study.

Case studies allow researchers to evaluate sites where issues are complex and must be evaluated within political, social, historical, and personal contexts (Stake, 1995), all of which informed my understanding of how participants made meaning of their study abroad experiences and how they constructed understandings of those experiences. CRT guided my analysis of students' structural positions and structural locations. Probing the history of differential mobilities outlined in Chapter One enabled my research to account for the existing inequalities still reflected in study abroad today. I examined participant narratives by primarily focusing on interviews that allowed me to investigate the processes in which they negotiated their experiences at the intersections of socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, age, and other social locations during study abroad. This emphasis on context and deep exploration of participant meanings made a case

study approach a useful technique as I sought to address the research questions at hand. The exploratory case study method that I adopted did not purport to predict, only to explore the meaning-making and lived experiences of my participants.

Participant Sample

I employed purposeful sampling to recruit participants based on criteria that aligned with the research questions of the study (Ezzy, 2002). The population of interest that I included in my research comprised of study abroad alumni participants who identified as low-income, first-generation minoritized students during the time of their program. The criteria of low-income was defined by the federal income poverty levels assigned on an annual basis by the U.S. Department of Education. Minoritized alumni participants include those who self-identify as Black, Latino, Native American, Asian, bi-racial, and multi-racial backgrounds. Participants were all past or current members of TRIO programs from across the nation. TRIO programs are Federal outreach and student services programs designed to identify and provide services for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds (U.S. Department of Education, n.d.). First-generation students are defined as those students whose parents' highest level of education is a high school diploma or less (U.S. Department of Education, n.d.). Thus, TRIO program participants met the characteristics of students within my research interest. Below, I outline the inclusion and exclusion criteria for participant eligibility.

Inclusion Criteria:

- Alumni participant of the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program who participated in study abroad between 2000 and 2019.
- At the time of their study abroad they identified as:
    - Low income as defined by the federal income poverty levels assigned on an annual basis by the U.S. Department of Education.
    - Minoritized alumni participants including those who self-identified as Black, Latino, Native American, Asian, bi-racial, and multi-ethnoracial backgrounds.
    - First-generation college goer defined as those participants whose parents' highest level of education is a high school diploma or less.
    - Minimum age of 19 years old.
- Participants did not have to meet the inclusion criteria of first-generation college goer, however those who met all inclusion criteria were prioritized.

Exclusion Criteria:

- Study abroad alumni participants that did not participate in the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program.
- To narrow the scope of the study, TRIO Student Support Services leadership and staff did not act as participants of this study nor were TRIO Student Support Services programs included within the boundaries of the exploratory case study.

I drew my sample of participants from the population of alumni who studied abroad through the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program. The global leaders study

abroad experience is a program of the Council for Opportunity in Education (COE)[4], a national advocacy arm for TRIO Programs. Since the year 2000, select TRIO participants nominated by TRIO directors, have received funding that has subsidized and reduced the overall cost study abroad participants are responsible for. The subsidized funding was a result of a corporate sponsorship from Keith Sherin, former senior vice president and chief financial officer of General Electric Company. Founded in 2000, Keith Sherin and COE have demonstrated a commitment to helping vulnerable students attain leadership experiences through international opportunities. Since its inception, approximately 400 low-income, first-generation college students and students with disabilities have participated in the short-term study abroad program. The short-term study abroad experience took place during the summer and ranged from three to four weeks depending on the particular year that students participated in the program. Approximately twenty to twenty-five students from TRIO programs across the U.S. have studied abroad with COE each year.

My research sample included alumni participants of the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program. I gained entry to this population due to my previous membership affiliation and experiences with COE. Although I am no longer a member of COE, I

[4] The Council for Opportunity in Education website: http://www.coenet.org/

sought approval from leadership to utilize their alumni for my project. The COE board of directors approved of my research and allowed me to carry out this study with Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. This participant sample was best equipped to represent the diversity across identities and experiences I sought to explore because of participant qualifications as TRIO students. The next section will expand on participant recruitment based on alumni participation in the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program.

Participant Recruitment

For the purposes of this bounded case study, I received full access to recruit alumni participants of the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program on April 2020. A letter from the COE President is included for review (Appendix 1). As a researcher, I was not involved, nor did I hold decision making power in the application, selection, or admissions process of any of the alumni participants to their respective study abroad programs. Moreover, I did not have a prior relationship with alumni participants that may have had the potential to influence their decision to participate in the study.

After obtaining IRB approval, I commenced participant recruitment for my study and forwarded a recruitment flier (Appendix 2) and an information sheet with the informed consent form (Appendix 3) to the COE Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program coordinator, herein referred to as the COE coordinator. The COE coordinator then posted the recruitment flier on multiple Facebook pages designed for alumni study abroad participants of the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program. In addition to posting a

recruitment flier, the COE coordinator emailed the organization's alumni study abroad listservs with the recruitment flier in addition to an email introduction explaining the research project and eligibility requirements. Over the course of data collection, the COE coordinator gave several reminders via Facebook and email. The COE coordinator also reached out to TRIO programs across the nation to share recruitment materials to alumni participants from their particular institutions. A flier was provided to prospective participants with the option to participate in a sixty-minute interview or a ninety-minute focus group. Additionally, once prospective participants contacted me, I provided them with an informed consent form stipulating a submission deadline.

I did not issue an honorarium to interviewers, however I offered focus group participants a $25 honorarium due to the increase in time commitment. I interviewed participants on a rolling basis throughout the recruitment process. For example, I began recruitment in May and began interviews the same month, all the while, recruitment of participant continued through mid-October. Moreover, I offered two focus group sessions in September. One focus group had two participants join and the other focus group was converted into an interview because only one student attended.

Although my goal was to interview thirty alumni participants, I was successful in interviewing nineteen participants and engaged 2 participants in a focus group. Due to the interest of three participants who identified as white, I submitted an IRB modification that was approved to interview white identifying participants. However, I excluded them

from this particular dissertation project. I plan to amplify their narratives as nontraditional aged, community college study abroad participants in a future research study. Of the eighteen participants included in this study, one hundred percent identified as both first-generation and low-income during the time of their study abroad. Moreover, 5 participants self-identified as male whereas thirteen participants identified as female. Participants in this study were alumni of study abroad programs between the years of 2000-2019. Fifty-five percent of participants in this studied represented 4-year universities, whereas forty-five percent represented 2-year community colleges. Participants in this study attended institutions of higher education located in California, Colorado, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Nevada, Puerto Rico, Utah, and Washington during their study abroad programs. A table with relevant information and demographics about each participant is located in Appendix 4. The following section will review the data collection methods within the qualitative research design.

Data Collection

By prioritizing the meaning of their experiences, a qualitative research design within a case study differs from approaches that begin with concepts defined by way of existing theories and hypotheses (i.e., theories and hypotheses established through a dominant white gaze and universalist assumptions on study abroad). Critical Race Theory informed my practice of employing data collection techniques by centering participant experiences and acknowledging systematic injustices that potentially shaped their lived

experiences. Consequently, CRT provided me with an alternative to the universally accepted and standardized research practices that historically have marginalized communities of color (Parker & Lynn, 2002). Developing tools that amplify participant storytelling counters existing research which tends to undervalue the voices of vulnerable populations by exploiting and essentializing their experiences and focusing on their deficits rather than aiming to understand how these participants make sense of their own unique lived realities. My research design for data collection integrated longitudinal elements to provide a historical perspective on participants' mobility histories. All participants were alumni of their respective study abroad programs which also allowed me to explore their experiences prior to, during, and after study abroad experiences. Semi-structured interviews and a focus group were employed to gain access to the interior and illuminate untold stories.

Semi-structured interviews. I used semi-structured interviewing as my primary data collection tool (Appendix 5). Each of the eighteen participants interviewed joined the session via the Zoom video-conferencing platform for sixty-minutes. Interviews occurred between May 2020 to October 2020. Prior to the interview sessions, I obtained participants' signed informed consent forms through email communication. Once interviews began, I requested verbal permission to record the interview using Zoom and a secondary recording device. Semi-structured interviews were the most well-suited to these conversations because it provided me with the flexibility to vary the questions and

topics according to the participant's individual personality, time constraints, and the direction of discourse. Establishing topics and themes in lieu of formulating detailed questions gave me the freedom to explore issues with participants, rather than imposing a formulated structure (Pathak & Charatdao, 2012).

My personal philosophy for the interviews was that of responsible mutual disclosure. It was impossible for me to sever my beliefs, experiences, and values, particularly when I understood that participants looked to me to share my perceptions as someone who may have walked a similar road to them. At the start of the interview, I provided participants with a brief introduction with some of my past experiences with TRIO and study abroad. Due to my previous professional experience with TRIO, I was aware that TRIO communities oftentimes embrace other TRIO affiliates and are more inclined to be open with them. Additionally, I also gave them insight into my struggles as a first-generation student throughout my higher education career. Moreover, I offered three native Spanish-speaking participants the opportunity to interview in Spanish to alleviate any discomfort they may have had with an English-only interview. Oftentimes these participants would respond with a blend of English and Spanish. I believe that this openness throughout the interviewing process with each participant created a degree of trust with students that allowed for meaningful dialogue and affected their views on what kind of subject I posed as the interviewer.

Focus groups. Toward the end of my data collection timeline in mid-September, I offered prospective participants two focus groups as a supplementary form of data collection to semi-structured interviewing. I chose focus groups because they allowed for both individual and collective responses and dialogues that reflect the participants wealth of knowledge, wisdom, and strength (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). I set out to conduct four ninety-minute focus groups with five participants per session. Due to participant interest and availability, I only scheduled two focus groups. The first focus group consisted of two participants and the second focus group was converted into a one-on-one semi-structured interview due to the cancellation of two other prospective participants. Given that the focus groups were expected to last for up to 90 minutes, I provided a $25 honorarium to show appreciation and acknowledge their time.

The focus group protocol described in Appendix 6 guided me throughout the course of the focus group. I opened the focus group in similar fashion to the interviews as highlighted in the previous section. The participants did not previously know each other. Yet, they were incredibly respectful and interested in the other's responses, oftentimes referring to each other's answers and highlighting similarities and differences. Interestingly, both participants of the focus group were immigrants to the U.S. from countries of the Global South. This lent a unique perspective to their lived experiences and mobility histories prior to studying abroad. Due to the intimacy that a two-person focus group engenders that a large focus may not elicit, I immediately sensed that

participants were comfortable and felt safe. As a result, I believe the two-person focus group may have yielded insights that may not have been shared in a larger group, particularly when addressing sensitive research topics such as collective reflections on immigration, mobility histories in the U.S., racism at home and abroad, barriers to access abroad, and impacts of study abroad. Although I did not conduct the proposed number of focus groups, the focus group I did conduct provided a depth to participant narratives that I may not have otherwise achieved. The following section will provide an overview of the processes for analysis from the collection of data.

Data Analysis and Analytic Framework

As the purpose of my research is to understand participants and the way they make meaning of their experiences, I employed CDA as an appropriate analysis tool for unpacking the underlying ideologies of discourses from participant interviews, the focus group, and my research memos (Lee, 2014). CDA was useful for me as an analytical strategy because it allowed me to uncover the ways in which dominant discourses, such as deficit-framing narratives, mobility histories, essentializing narratives, and universalist assumptions influenced participants' constructions of meanings, their identity, and their agency before, during, and after studying abroad. In this study, I drew from Fairclough's (1992) three-dimension model of CDA to analyze participant narratives that emphasized the use of the microanalysis (i.e., social interactions, written, and verbal text) to understand, critique, and remedy social wrongs apparent in macro structures (i.e.,

ideology, and institutions) (Aleshire, 2016). These macro structures include social institutions such as higher education, and thus, study abroad. Moreover, this approach considered the social processes within these structures, such as mobility.

The prominence of theoretical constructs such as identity, ideology, hegemony, and power in Fairclough's (1992) conception of CDA were well aligned with the CRT tenets that informed this study. The CDA approach to analyzing data led me to consider discourse as a social constitutive practice that shapes social situations, realities, and practices while also being shaped by them (Fairclough, 1995). Thus, CDA allowed me to combine the strengths of the deductive coding scheme that I drew from CRT, discussed further in subsequent sections, while also inductively identifying phenomena that existing literature on study abroad and race have yet to examine. The three-dimension approach is useful because it provided me insight to multiple points of analytic entry and through these junctures, interesting patterns emerged that truly captured the structural challenges that participants' mobility histories illuminated. I applied the three-dimension model to my data analysis, as presented in Figure 1.

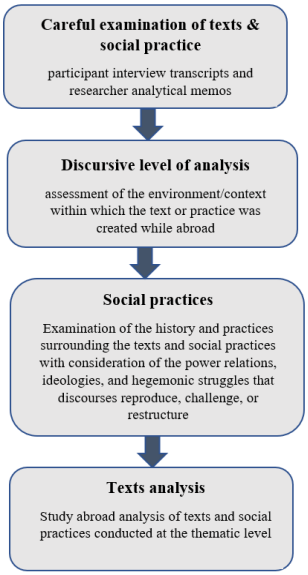

Figure 1. Fairclough's (1995) three-dimension approach to CDA. Reprinted from *Critical Discourse Analysis* by Fairclough, N., 1995, Longman.

I first analyzed my data inductively to avoid obscuring key themes that may have been limited by my deductive analysis. This revealed thematic codes such as imaginative travel, mobility imaginaries, possibility, temporal and spatial effects, financial mobilization, and TRIO support. Following the process outlined in Figure 1, I proceeded with a round of open coding in the field to identify and illustrate key topics and emerging themes around study abroad (Saldaña, 2013). These codes included benefits of studying abroad, deficit narratives about minoritized students abroad, neoliberalism, universalist notions of study abroad, identity development, and academic impact. I then employed secondary analysis of NVivo coding created from actual phrases used in specific texts such as worldview, familial support, and community networks (Thomas, 2003). Next, I

engaged in pattern coding that grouped the codes in order to determine if there were patterns that came out of the interview data and analytic memos. Subsequently, I grouped these categories into dominant discourses linked to the language of the text and wider ideologies demonstrated in Fairclough's three-dimension approach that included hegemony, power relations, and dominant discourse.

I proceeded to analyze my research questions within these identified and refined categories with consideration to history, ideology, power, and other struggles that discourses often produce or are influenced by. In an effort to build on existing theories of race and extend them to the study of study abroad programs, I also employed a deductive coding scheme that emerged from CRT. The deductive coding scheme that I use in this study drew from CRT and included the following thematic codes: 1) counter-storytelling, 2) the permanence of racism, 3) whiteness of property, and 4) critique of liberalism. Through storytelling, participant counter-narratives shed light on how participants navigate these systems of oppression while participating in study abroad, an experience that was not historically created or designed for them. I employed deductive coding schemes by drawing observations to examine the extent to which participants developed a counter-story and how these contrasted to masternarratives. I also sought to identify the impact that masternarratives may have had on the experiences of students abroad and contrasted these with the counter-stories that emerged abroad. An attention to the impact

of masternarratives led me to code ideations of travel in Chapter Four, possibility in Chapter Five, and subversion in Chapter Six.

Through analyses of the permanence of racism, I was better equipped to understand how systemic racism had impacted participant study abroad experiences and self-conceptions. Furthermore, the thematic code of whiteness as property revealed how norms and institutions governing racial disparities in gaining property shapes participants' life histories, and, more specifically, their mobility. Finally, the critique of liberalism led me to discover deficit-oriented discourses that informed participants' life experiences and their imaginative travel, and how notions of cultural commonwealth contribute to their experiences abroad that manifested through their cultural registries. As I switched between the inductive and deductive modes of reasoning, it was important for me to remain organized through the process. In this effort, I developed a codebook based on the inductive and deductive coding data. Further, I reviewed the sources discussed in my methods section several times and categorized relevant texts based on the codebook categories. Outlined in this section is a dual process that involved a balance of deductive coding derived from the CRT tenets and inductive coding which emerged from interviews, the focus group, and memos. Through the explicit disclosure of my personal biases, beliefs, and assumptions through analytic memos, I had the opportunity to further analyze my thoughts through a reflective coding process. In the next section I discuss the ethical considerations of the study and validity threats.

Ethical Considerations and Validity Threats

Taking precaution when considering ethics and validity in conducting research on human subjects is critical to ensure credibility of results. Ethical and validity considerations specific to this research project include strict adherence to Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines. Particularly, "in qualitative studies, ethical dilemmas are likely to emerge with regard to the collection of data and in the dissemination of the findings" (Merriam, 2009, p. 230). Such dilemmas could manifest through the researcher's relationship with participants, the researcher's positionality, trustworthiness through member checking, and confidentiality protocol. This section addresses these issues concerning my role as a researcher and the design of this study that reduced research bias and validity threats.

Member checking. A technique that I implemented immediately following data collection and again after data analysis was member checking, an opportunity for participants to approve particular aspects of the interpretations of the data they provided (i.e., interviews transcripts and data analysis chapters) (Merriam, 1998). It is a method of "finding out whether the data analysis is congruent with the participants' experiences" (Curtin & Fossey, 2007, p. 92). First, I provided participants with a choice of how to receive their member check information, by reviewing their transcript by hard copy, electronic copy, audio copies, or by having the transcripts read to them. The preferential format for the interview transcripts was provided to participants immediately following

NVivo transcription. I was happy to find that seventy-five percent of participants read their transcripts and provided feedback, particularly concerning filler words and sentence structure. One student commented that he did not want to be presented as sounding unintelligent. It was important to me to engage with participants and format their narratives according to their suggestions and comfort. Next, participants had the opportunity to review the analysis of findings and how their narrative contributions were placed in the research project. Again, participants were also quite engaged. Sixty-percent of participants made suggestions regarding grammatical suggestions to their narratives. There were no participants who suggested content amendments that could change the scope of my analysis. I am appreciative of their thoughtful and encouraging feedback. I believe it made for a stronger and more valid dissertation. Among the most often used procedures to increase trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry is the use of reflexivity. Subsequently, I expand on positionality and the ways in which reflexivity was woven throughout the course of my research.

Positionality. Reflexivity entailed deep and critical reflection about my identities and my role in, and impact on, the research. “Positionality is vital because it forces us to acknowledge our own power, privilege, and biases just as we are denouncing the power structures that surround our subjects” (Madison, 2005, p. 7). I believe that my positionality as an insider mattered to my research, as I am someone who represented several of the identity characteristics (low-income, Latina, urban, first-generation)

reflected in my participants. Like the majority of participants in this study who are years removed from their study abroad and university experience, we now hold privileges and are no longer in the same economic situation we were before which also created a sense of commonality amongst us. Yet, it is important for me to first acknowledge that I am a fair skinned Latina born in the continental U.S. While collecting data and analyzing it, I was intent to reflect on colorist experiences in the U.S. that typically revolve around 1) general oppression via racialization as non-white, 2) devaluing dark skin, and 3) light skin advantage (Monroe & Hall, 2018). Given that colorism was birthed from racism, CRT was a viable path to sift through the dynamics of how alumni participants experienced racism and colorism in the U.S., abroad, and from within their peer cohort, and specifically lent a valuable lens to Chapter Six of this dissertation.

Conducting ethically sound research required me to reflexively think about my inherent biases. Through critical reflexivity I was able to: 1) situate and historicize my scholarly viewpoint (Chiu, 2006); 2) unearth and explore complex questions and contradictions that happened during the data collection process (Chiu, 2006); and 3) examine power relations between the focus group participants, myself, and participants, how those relations are structured in a social context, and how they are shaped by ideologies that support them (Chiu, 2006). Furthermore, by practicing reflexivity, I interrogated the complexities of language during my CDA analysis to accurately and ethically interpret and center the voices of my participants. Finally, I will address how I

navigated the ethical process of information disclosure through the practice of confidentiality.

Confidentiality. I created a foundation of confidentiality standards and ensured participant consent at the start of the research process with the intent to safeguard information, participants, and, most importantly, trust. I considered the likelihood for disclosing identities with potential to "out" participants who may have been critical of study abroad, their program, or the scholarship they have received to travel abroad with the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program. Although my research strived, in every way, to protect alumni identities and to prevent endangerment of their opportunities or potential opportunities, all participants insisted on using their identities and verbally consenting to using their first name rather than a pseudonym. Given the empowerment factor of identity disclosure for minoritized participants, I negotiated this by anonymizing other identity indicators such as their institutions of higher education, religious affiliation, or place of employment. The following section will review the limitations of the study centered around the design of this study.

Limitations

The limitations of this qualitative exploratory case study of TRIO study abroad alumni participants center around the transferability and generalizability of my research

findings. Exploratory case studies are used when there is no single set of outcomes and when researchers seek to answer "how" and "what" research questions (Merriam, 2009; Seaton & Schwier, 2014; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2001). The aim of this case study was not to be generalizable, but to be credible and tease out particular understandings in relation to a larger social phenomenon or context. This study represents the first study that analyzes study abroad through a CRT lens and mobility justice framework. As scholars carry out studies that examine the socio-cultural and mobility histories of student abroad students, findings may be gathered from multiple studies, such as this one, to conduct meta-analyses across various populations of study-abroad. Although this dissertation did not set out to be transferable or generalizable, I do believe this study can inform future practices and scholarship within the field of education, higher education, and international education. I provide further detail on policy implications and areas of future inquiry in Chapter Seven of this dissertation.

Other potential limitations include my research focus on students who represent the U.S. and the westernized gaze this contributes to study abroad research. Amplifying voices outside of the Global North within an educational mobility justice framework will contribute to the meta-analyses previously discussed. Moreover, due to the nature of a case study, I only drew participants from the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program. It will be important for scholars to expand the lens of minoritized, first-generation, low-income study abroad participants beyond this program for future study. An additional

limitation of this dissertation occurred during the interviewing process when I was able to switch between Spanish and English for participants who chose this option, but I was not able to do that for other languages. The kind of insight I gained from my ability to do this with Spanish-speaking participants signals to the value of a researcher's ability to follow the participants' linguistic movements. Perhaps this line of research should prefigure the linguistic mobility that scholars wish to achieve.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, I planned to conduct fieldwork abroad and incorporate a more extensive qualitative research design that called for participant observations of twenty-five study abroad students during their study abroad experience at the Hague in the Netherlands. This would have increased the number of students involved in my study and could have given me a more in-depth understanding of students while they study abroad. However, in contrast to my pre-pandemic research design, this dissertation allowed me to observe the long-term consequences of study abroad participation from multiple countries, which would not have been possible with my original research design. In the next section I provide a brief summary of the methodological considerations I presented in this chapter.

Summary

In summary, the gap in literature uncovered in the first two chapters of my study require empirical evidence to account for the ways in which low-income, first-generation minoritized students navigated experiences and negotiated their identity while abroad.

This chapter provided an overview of the methodological considerations of a qualitative case study. It explored the epistemological underpinnings that guided the qualitative approach to this study. This chapter also presented the use of an exploratory case study as the methodological means of addressing my research questions. I provided details of the procedures used for data collection, as well as an overview of data analysis procedures. The chapter concluded by discussing ethical considerations and validity threats, and limitations of the study. Next, in Chapter Four, I discuss findings that illuminate participant histories and the broader relations of power that have shaped and impacted the extent to which students from marginalized groups can imagine themselves as study abroad participants and the structural barriers that obstruct their participation.

Chapter 4

Ideations of Travel and the Structures that Bind Them

The purpose of this chapter is to complicate hegemonic understandings of study abroad programming in U.S. higher education through analyses of the experiences of those who come into study abroad from the periphery.[5] I show the complex intertwined relations between ideations of the nation, class, race, and gender in mobility and study abroad. Through their counter-stories, a method employed to challenge the dominant discourse on study abroad and to amplify the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (Solórzano & Yosso, 2016), participants in this study critically examine the relationship between unjust and unequal capabilities for movement and the agency required to break through structures that create issues of immobility. By presenting counterstories of study abroad, this chapter centers the lived experiences of first-generation, low-income study abroad minoritized participants through an examination of their family histories, communities, parental relations, and participant life responsibilities. Through participant histories, I identify the structural dynamics that heavily constrain my participants from studying abroad and how those dynamics shape

[5] By periphery, I am referring to the voices and perspectives marginalized in study abroad.

the experiences of those who must cope with them. Only through this embodied lens can distinct political and structural barriers come into view and be unpacked.

Emerging from a qualitative case study approach of study abroad participation among minoritized first-generation, low-income students, this chapter builds on Critical Race Theory and a mobility justice framework to examine how study abroad participants encounter institutional and discursive barriers and confront the dominant powers of discourse, practices, and infrastructures of mobility.[6,] Mobility is a central aspect of study abroad. Thus, we must acknowledge that there have been study abroad experiences that do not take place due to various constraining factor(s) (i.e., structural, financial, social, cultural) (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008). I use critical discourse analysis of interviews and focus group sessions with study abroad participants to provide thick descriptions of the regimes that govern the ease, access, and possibilities of movement, thereby enabling or constraining a person's ability to move across space. I consider the ways in which norms of language, ideology, and power interweave to influence study abroad participant meaning and how they differ from the dominant discourses in study abroad literature[7]. Absent from dominant discourse are the politics of movement that are socially

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[6] For more information on this framework, see Chapter One of this dissertation.
[7] Fairclough (1995) argues that critical approaches to discourse analysis identify and confront the discursive effects of language by drawing out the social and cultural contexts where expressions of power exist.

differentiated and unevenly experienced by social groups. This study provides a necessary corrective to this absence by acknowledging and discussing the mobility gap in study abroad through a mobility justice framework. To this end, I seek to advance our understandings about why minoritized first-generation, low-income students may not study abroad, the experiences they confront as they negotiate going abroad, and how to support these populations during and after their study abroad experience.

Considering mobility as one's ability, capacity, or desire to move, I argue that study abroad is fundamentally a mobility industry created to move university students from one place to another. Study abroad *is* mobility. Conceptualizations of study abroad as mobility are limited in scholarship today (Beech, 2017; Cairns et al., 2017; Kölbel, 2020; Rizvi, 2011) particularly in analyzing U.S. undergraduates going abroad. Study abroad is all too often investigated and understood as a discrete activity isolated from other forms of human movement and mobility (Sheller & Urry, 2006), without considerations of the hidden regimes of mobility that make some bodies able to move, and constrain the movement of other bodies. This chapter posits that study abroad and educational mobilities are not separate concepts, rather they are intimately connected. It is my aim to compel scholars to move away from their intellectual comfort zones and consider the nature of contemporary study abroad, not in isolation, but in direct conversation with mobility.

I contend that that the disparities across these social groups that scholars observe in study abroad must be traced back and contextualized in relation to this mobility gap and the regimes that govern them. This study speaks to mobilities research within the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller & Urry, 2006) and mobility justice (Cook & Butz, 2019; Sheller, 2018a) that focus on the role of movement within social institutions and social practices, particularly on how power interacts with systems that govern mobility and immobility at various scales (Sheller, 2018b). The mobilities paradigm transcends the mere focus of physical movement and focuses on the "the power of discourses, practices, and infrastructures of mobility in creating the effects of both movement and stasis" (Sheller, 2014, p. 794). In this view, assessing the fairness of mobility and immobility must take account of mobility regimes. Through a mobility justice lens, higher education practitioners and scholars can seek to understand how marginalized study abroad participants experience differential mobilities prior to study abroad, how these mobility inequalities impact their ability to even imagine themselves as participants, and how immobility, discursive and structural, obstructs and shapes study abroad participation. Through this framework, practitioners in the field can act as agents to disrupt the structures that obstruct students' imaginations from conceiving mobility as a possibility on their own terms. Moreover, examining the mobility histories of minoritized, first-generation, and low-income student through a mobility justice lens allows scholars and practitioners of study abroad to contest the assumptions upon which dominant

explanations for the educational mobility gap rest. Namely, student counternarratives challenge the notion that their absence from study abroad is the result of social group deficiencies that render marginalized groups as unable to keep pace with the increased levels of study abroad participation observed among white students.[8] Further, student counternarratives contest the assumption that aspiring study abroad participants share social and material circumstances, and thus that their participation is merely a matter of working hard enough to achieve it. A mobility justice lens departs from this deficiency framing and instead focuses on the historical, institutional, systematic, and societal dynamics that shape the study abroad participation of marginalized groups. The notion of educational mobility justice, then, helps us to examine the discursive and material barriers that obstruct the access of intersectionally marginalized groups to educational opportunities, programs, and institutions.

By *educational mobility justice*, I am referring to a perspective that challenges dominant assumptions within the field of education by seeking to understand and trace histories of the uneven and unequal mobility of students. Furthermore, scholars and practitioners within the education field can adopt this framework to examine and address

[8] See Thomas (2013) for an analysis of dominant deficit framings of minoritizes groups within study abroad literature as deficient in terms of "barriers" (financial), "constraints" (educational) and "lack" (of interest, awareness, structural support and financial ability).

the discursive and systemic bases of educational (im)mobility that generate unjust power relations. I conceptualize study abroad as a phenomenon enmeshed in the broader politics of educational mobility. Disparities in study abroad are most often explained through a deficit rhetoric, which promoted the idea that low-income, first generation minoritized students fail to gain access to study abroad as a result of deficiencies that characterize marginalized social groups. This chapter rejects hegemonic deficit arguments. I consider dominant discourses as elements of educational mobility injustice and draw critical attention to oft-hidden infrastructures and systems of governance that have contributed to the uneven mobilities of study abroad participants. Chapter 5 further problematizes depictions of marginalized groups as educationally deficient through an account of the agency by which they cope and overcome the barriers to educational mobility.

This chapter departs from an examination of the ideational obstructions to mobility participants experience, as they are unable to imagine a mobility that is not completely determined by external forces (i.e., migration due to displacement, mobility as a means to meet economic needs). What I am terming *ideational obstructions* refers to the dominant ideologies and discourses that obstruct participants from conceptualizing an atmosphere of place beyond their immediate circumstances. I find that ideational obstructions to mobility bring to bear a lack of imaginative travel of "inner mobility" for participants, defined as a participant's ability to imagine travel as a possibility (Urry, 2010, p. 348). I then present participant narratives that identify the structural obstructions

to mobility that dominant discourses in the field fail to consider when examining study abroad.

My findings indicate that participant histories are revealing of discursive and systemic bases of (im)mobility that generate the mobility gap in study abroad. I draw on these findings to argue that hegemonic constructs in the field fail to consider mobility regimes that disrupt ideations of travel and the structures that bind them. These findings suggest scholars and practitioners in the field of study abroad must apply an educational mobility justice lens to recognize that the mobility histories of minoritized first-generation, low-income participants and the broader relations of power that shaped them have impacts on the extent to which participants gain access and sustain their presence in educational spaces.

The Politics of Movement

The field of study abroad is premised on assumptions of mobility and of its educational and intercultural benefits. These assumptions, however, are heavily classed and racialized, and are built upon unrecognized colonial relations of power that restrict the mobility of intersectionally marginalized groups. Colonial power relations facilitate the broad movements of those who have the privilege of political membership in countries of the Global North. This privilege of political membership, regulated through citizenship (Benhabib, 2004), situates citizens of countries of the Global North as ideal subjects for study abroad recruitment, participation, and celebrations of the ostensibly

universally-experienced benefits of study abroad participation. Dominant market-based logics conceptualize these privileged subjects as those who can bring the highest return on investment. In turn, those who lack the privilege of political membership and its corresponding liberties for international movement only figure within social constructions of study abroad as deficient subjects who are not worth the investments needed to enable their participation. Their deficiencies, and not the structural barriers to their participation, some have argued, account for their absence in study abroad.

Prevalent assumptions within the field do not reflect the alternate histories and differential capacities of mobility in higher education. By centering educational mobility justice in study abroad we acknowledge that there is clearly a politics to movement, meaning, and practice (Cresswell, 2008) that governs who gains access to or is excluded from study abroad, and shapes the dominance of some ideas and depictions of study abroad over others. Mobility must be thought about holistically, including these three aspects of mobility: the aspect of physical movement (i.e., getting from one place to another), the meanings of movement (i.e., discourse about movement), and "the experienced and embodied practice of movement" (Cresswell, 2008, p. 130). In the context of study abroad, understanding the politics of mobility elicits the questions: Who takes international travel as matter of fact, who presumes it to be possible? How do immigration regimes differentially impact movement? Which groups are socially constructed as the subjects of autonomous and leisurely travel and whose movement only

takes place in the service of economic exploitation and displacement? Embedded in these questions is the acknowledgement that mobilities have distinct and unequal histories.

The politics of mobility shape the extent to which students from marginalized groups can imagine themselves as study abroad participants and the structural barriers that obstruct their participation. The field of international education and institutions of higher education operates under hegemonic understandings of the ideal study abroad participant as affluent, white, and female. These understandings forward notions of who tends to go abroad, thereby reifying norms and practices within the field that favor certain groups while neglecting others. These dominant discourses and norms that govern study abroad contribute to reproducing the power and dominance of the privileged within higher education and to constraining the mobility imaginaries of marginalized groups. I adopt Salazar's (2020) definition of imaginary as "culturally shared and socially transmitted representational assemblages[9] that interact with the personal imagination and are used as meaning-making devices, mediating how people act, cognize and value the world" (p. 770). If imaginaries are the product of imagination, then imaginative travel produces mobility imaginaries that can exist on a spectrum of mobility to immobility.

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[9] The concept of assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) is oftentimes employed in social theory to explain complex formations such as state, societies, and global networks. Following this notion, Puar (2012) argues that categories of gender, race, and sexuality should be rethought as events, actions, and encounters between bodies – recognizing the "event-ness of identity" (p. 58).

Despite widely held notions of the ideal participants and the consequences of their dominance, scholarship within the field also forwards the claim that study abroad is accessible, produces universal benefits, and creates global leaders regardless of social group. The absence of counternarratives within this literature perpetuates the hegemony of racialized, universalist, and market-driven understandings of study abroad participation. Through an educational mobility justice framework, participant counternarratives hold the potential to disrupt and subvert hegemonic understandings of what the benefits of study abroad are and whom they benefit. Thus, a holistic understanding of study abroad cannot exclude the experiences that take place prior to and after the program.

As much as they have been underexamined, the barriers to study abroad mobility are not just physical and structural. Hegemonic narrative constructs of study abroad include: 1) depictions of study abroad as a consumer good; 2) homogenized notions of the benefits of study abroad; and 3) framings of those who are barred from participating abroad as deficient.[10] These hegemonic constructs are part of the politics of mobility as they limit higher education opportunities to specifically mobile, affluent, white, cisgender women, traditional-aged prospective study abroad participants. The hegemony of these

[10] See Chapter Two for more information on these hegemonic approaches.

societal ideas forward understandings of who can, who should, and who does study abroad. These dominant understandings of mobility interpellate[11] marginalized people to believe that mobility is not within the scope of their trajectories and in some cases, it negates even imagining the possibility of mobility under their own terms. Simplistic and universalist assumptions about the benefits of studying abroad neglect the life stories and lived experiences of participants prior to their study abroad experience. Connecting mobility to study abroad acknowledges that this particular movement is more than an international opportunity overseas. Study abroad is a complex social phenomenon that reflects the state of relations of the politics of mobility. Mobilities are, in various ways, "channeled, tracked, controlled, governed, under surveillance and unequally striated by gender, race, ethnicity, class, caste, color, nationality, age, sexuality, disability, etc., which are all in fact experienced as effects of uneven mobilities" (Sheller, 2018a, p. 10). In this chapter, considerations such as low-income status, gender norms, and legacies of forced migration demonstrate that some bodies can more easily move, or easily imagine moving through space than others (Sheller, 2018a). Said differently, the experiences of these participants underscore the hierarchical nature of mobility. Further, analyzing

[11] Louis Althusser (2014) introduced interpellation to explain the ways in which we encounter a culture's or ideology's values and internalize them. In this way, interpellate is to give a person an identity which may or may not be accurate.

participant experiences through an intersectional lens that considers the relationship between axes of class, race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, and age can illuminate oftentimes invisible dimensions of a participants' experience, and thus open new opportunities for challenging exclusionary narratives and structures.

Given the wide prevalence of presumptions of student mobility, scholars and practitioners of study abroad must confront the ways in which personal mobilities have been unevenly distributed in the past, the degree to which some students are able to exercise their freedoms of mobilities, and the degree to which others find them constrained. Recognizing that mobility is an unequally distributed resource, I asked participants to reflect on their experiences of mobility, their dreams of travel, their communities, and experiences of (im)mobility prior to studying abroad. I find that participants draw on experiences rooted in poverty to discuss implications of mobility, immobility, and the meanings attached to it. Further, this chapter speaks to the relationship between the material and the corporeal nature of travel, but also participants' imaginative travel (i.e., experiencing in one's imagination the "atmosphere of place") (Hamnem et al., 2006, p. 14). The following section illustrates the unequal distribution of mobility participants experience prior to studying abroad and signals mobility as a reflection of class privilege.

Imaginative Travel and the Structures that Bind

In this section I present the varied ways in which personal histories reflect the structures that bind participants' imaginative travel. Imaginative travel is a process by which participants internalize the possibility of travel in relation to their lived experiences and social identities. Gacek (2017) argues that "consideration of the abstract and surrealistic spaces that exist within human consciousness and cognition is warranted" (p. 78). Moreover, Cangia and Zittoun (2020) point out that imagination can "slow down, accelerate or even immobilize the rhythm and possibilities of mobility" (p. 645). I contend that social group positioning in relation to social structures shapes the extent to which subjects can imagine the possibility of travel and the conditions under which travel takes place. The lived experiences of my participants constrain the ability to imagine travel under conditions of personal autonomy. These experiences include life histories of forced displacement, racialized encounters with immigration regimes, gendered expectations of labor and employment, and labor exploitation.

I draw from the narrations of participants' lived experience prior to study abroad to identify the absence of imaginative travel as an ideational obstruction to mobility. Ideational obstructions to mobility interact with structural barriers to co-constitute immobility. I argue that understandings of mobility must account for the assemblages of social structures that shape lived experiences as well as the ideologies that uphold these social structures. Thus, mobility is not a monolith – it is necessary to think of mobilities, and how they are reflective of social group positionings within social relations of power.

Participant narratives can lead the field of study abroad to engage in efforts to disrupt the ideational obstructions to mobility that low-income, first-generation minoritized students internalize and contend with.

The Intersectional Politics of Mobility

I resist the tendency to frame participant narratives through single-axis analyses of social group categories such as race, ethnicity, class, gender, and nationality. As these narratives will show, participant experiences were not solely shaped by one system of oppression. Rather, participant narratives detail complex relationships between social structures that challenge single-axis explanations of educational mobility and imaginative travel. These narratives therefore necessitate an intersectional approach to analyzing participant lived experiences through their counternarratives.

This approach has implications for our understandings of educational mobility justice. First, an intersectional approach to the study of mobility suggests that immobility is not the result of one barrier to mobility (i.e., a single axis of oppression), but rather, it is produced by an assemblage of interlocking social structures. Marylin Frye's (1983) analogy of the birdcage is illustrative of this notion of immobility, whereby a bird's movement is constrained by combinations of intermeshed wires. Second, an intersectional approach rejects static or additive notions of identity that assume that oppression is the addition of various identity categories (Hancock, 2007). Instead, an intersectional approach to the study of mobility seeks to examine the fluidity of identity

and how identity can change over time as people navigate different spaces and lived experiences.

The following sections focus on the structures and their corresponding regimes (e.g., array of norms and regulations) that constrain spatial mobility and mobility imaginaries. Participant narratives show that their immobility stemmed from interacting social structures, motivating the need for adopting an intersectional lens. An intersectional approach holds the potential to generate insight on how vectors of identity come together to produce different forms of oppression, in effect shaping participant mobilities prior to studying abroad. This chapter will present participant narratives influenced by the emergent themes of class binds, legacies of forced displacement, gender, and immigration.

No mijo12, it's too expensive: Class binds. "…[N]o mijo, it's too expensive." These were the words that Eros would hear when he brought up the topic of travel with his family. Eros studied abroad with COE in Salamanca, Spain in 2018. His experience of immobility prior to study abroad unfolded at the intersection of ethnoracial, class, and nationalist social structures. Looking back to the way he thought about travel growing up, Eros was acutely aware of the economic constraints that bound his family to his

[12] *Mijo* is a Spanish contraction of '*mi hijo*' (my son).

neighborhood, and gestured towards a long history of nature deprivation for low-income communities, particularly Black and Latino communities (Landau et al., 2020).

Eros was expressive when describing the community that he grew up in. He identified as Mexican-American and depicted his neighborhood through a socioeconomic lens, “I kind of grew up in your average low-income neighborhood where, you know, people are usually poor.” He continues, “like lower middle class, low middle class.” Eros emphasizes *lower* and *low* to the socioeconomic conditions to which his community is ascribed.

> No one is like middle class, like the good kind where it's stable. You know, a lot of families had family issues, divorces, break ups, it's kind of common you see that in neighborhoods. So, most of my childhood I lived through that.

Eros’s community was at the heart of his introduction. He uses the word “hostile” four times to describe the neighborhood he grew up in and explains that he was used to growing up in a “hostile” neighborhood with an “environment that’s cruel, and the people you grew up with become cruel too.” He goes onto explain that “people are cruel to each other, especially in school.” Eros’ narrative points to conditions in which segregation and divestment in low-income neighborhoods produces spatial isolation (immobility) and competition for resources. The geographic isolation forces entire populations into hostile conditions where “poverty is endemic, infrastructure is inadequate, education is lacking, families are fragmented, and crime and violence are rampant” (Massey & Denton, 2018,

p. 148). These circumstances have direct consequences on one's imagination in conceptualizing possibilities beyond their immediate conditions.

Growing up, the idea of traveling seemed beyond his reach. Even a 45-minute trip to the beach was a luxury reserved for special occasions, no more than once or twice a year. When I asked Eros whether he or his family ever traveled or if he ever dreamed about traveling Eros, changes the inflection in his tone and he recalls his parents saying "No, it's too much money." He recounts mobility as a reflection of privilege:

> For most of my life, I lived like 45 minutes or an hour at least east from the beach. But we only go there like once or twice a year, like on a road trip. It kind of says a lot that we don't have, like, we don't have the privilege to just travel, even though we're in California. But it's like, going to the beach is considered a luxury for us.

Eros' responses, like a large portion of my participants' responses, traced their experiences of immobility directly back to their race, ethnicity, class, nationality, and community.

Megan identifies as low-income at the time of study abroad, and a biracial, queer, first generation woman, and southern California native. I asked Megan if she or her family ever traveled or if she ever dreamed about traveling, and she genuinely states "I never thought about this." Megan was a 2008 participant of the COE study abroad to Liverpool and a 2009 Peace Corp member stationed in Azerbaijan. Megan continues, "It's really very expensive to travel and to travel as a family, even more so. So, it just wasn't

something we never talked about or did." Another participant Laura, who moved from Mexico to Michigan at 14 years old, studied abroad twice with COE in community college and again when she transferred to a four-year university. Laura states "I guess I feel like that was something like only rich people was able to do, like, not me." Similarly citing class as a comparison, Jonathan, a 2016 COE study abroad participant to Salamanca, Spain, responds to whether or not he ever thought about travel as a possibility.

> Not necessarily. Most travel was due to a funeral or maybe visiting some family or like a family reunion, but it was all within the state. So, we did some traveling, talked about that, but not to the extent of where a middle-class family goin' to Spain every year, going to Bahamas or whatever, you know?

The counter-narratives of these participants demonstrate that notions of imaginative travel are often obstructed by these systems of power that limit the everyday mobility of participants. In Jonathan's experience, travel only took place in relation to the death of a family member or family reunions, all within short distance of his place of residence. He draws a distinction between his family and families who travel to international destinations on a frequent basis, affirming that his family was not 'that kind of family,' and that tourism was a privilege exclusively reserved for social classes above his. Similarly, Laura refers to travel for the purpose of tourism was something that rich people do.

Lizbeth's narrative in the subsequent example further supports instances of immobility given the structures that bind her materially and imaginatively. Lizbeth, a two-time study abroad participant to Liverpool with COE and subsequently China with her university, describes her upbringing in a community in the southwest. Lizbeth immediately identifies herself as first-generation to attend college in her family. When describing her background, she explains that she grew up in a predominantly Latino neighborhood and is the youngest of four children. Lizbeth makes it a point to describe her family's education: "My dad and mom have an elementary school education, about second and fifth grade. My siblings didn't go to college." When I ask her if there were any dreams of traveling during her upbringing, Lizbeth firmly states, "No, definitely not. The focus was definitely on where we were as a family, and doing well where we were, was the task. You know, instead of thinking about travel beyond even Las Vegas." She goes onto to indicate that she has a "nerdy political science answer" as to why she believes notions of travel were absent during her upbringing.

> There's a concept in political science called materialism and post-materialism, and whatever country you're from, if you are in a lower income bracket, or maybe in a more rural location, your goal is materialism. So, getting to the point where you are sheltered and fed and working and surviving, and then you get to an income bracket point, or a cultural point where all of those needs are met, and then you reach post-materialism, which is enlightenment, travel, satisfaction of your needs, of your

> intellectual needs, things like that. So, we were definitely in the materialism bracket. So, that's my answer as to why that (travel) wasn't a part of the conversation.

Lizbeth's explanation leads me to argue that class disparities and inequity not only obstructs potential concerns for issues that one does not perceive as affecting us directly. Class inequity can also constrain ideas of how participants see themselves. Dominant class ideologies obstruct their abilities to imagine transformative futures, ones in which their freedom to move is possible. This ideology is not solely contained to individual participant circumstances, but that of those who also experience ethnoracial and class subjugation.

The following example highlights how institutions and infrastructures of control inform and shape possibilities of imaginative travel. Terry, a two-time study abroad participant from Puerto Rico, was removed from his home at a mere four years old. Terry understood at a young age what it was to be forced to move homes, move neighborhoods, and move away from the familiar. When reflecting on notions of travel for leisure, Terry exclaimed, "En mi casa no había esa noción de viajar porque no había dinero. Apenas… sabe, yo cogía la ropa de mi primo, verdad?" Translated to English, Terry explains that there was never the notion of traveling because there was no money, and as a way to emphasize his family's financial state, he smiles and says that he had to wear his cousin's hand-me-downs. Terry recounts his community in Puerto Rico:

> Vengo de una familia de escasos recursos económicos. En la parada 15 en Santurce, donde es una comunidad que es bien difícil, hay muchas personas inmigrantes y hay mucho empleadas sexuales. Así que a pesar de que una comunidad en la que reina, yo reconozco que cuando yo estaba en necesidad, la empleada sexuales, por ejemplo, me daban dinero para coger el bus, la transportación. Cuando yo no tenía and so I admired their work y the hospitality that they have. Y algo que mi madre sabe y que yo siempre lo voy a decir. Las personas que menos yo pensé, me ayudaron en el camino.
>
> English translation: I come from a family with limited economic resources. At the 15th bus stop in Santurce, a very difficult community, there are many immigrants and there are many sex workers. So, despite the fact that it's this kind of community, I recognize that when I was in need, the sex workers, for example, would give me money to take the bus, transportation, when I didn't have. And so, I admired their work and the hospitality that they have. And something that my mother knows and that I will always say, the people I least expected to, helped me along the way.

This anecdote demonstrates the differential accessibility to various spaces and uneven powers of motility. By *motility*, I mean the capacity of a person to be mobile as well as the ability of that person to actualize mobility (Adey, 2017). As the Untokening (Collective U., 2017) notes, "when people live at the intersection of multiple vectors of oppression, unfettered access to mobility and public spaces are not guaranteed" (Image

4). Puerto Ricans, particularly Black Puerto Ricans like Terry, navigate and confront infrastructures that were designed to contain and regulate residents to spaces marked by race and class. Housing and urban policies on the island have institutionalized class and race distinctions through neighborhoods, zoning laws, architecture, and conventions of use (Godreau, 2015). Terry's reflection, and those of other participants, are indicative that these experiences and memories of curtailment impede imaginations of emancipatory forms of mobility.

Across these narratives, then, we can see how class binds shape the extent to which subjects can imagine the possibility of travel and the conditions under which travel take place. Further, these binds constrain my participants from imagining travel under conditions of their individual autonomy. The ability of marginalized participants to imagine travel is vital for them to move from an ideational space where mobility is impossible to an alternative of possibility. While the idea of autonomous and leisurely travel exists in their mind, it only exists as an image of what the affluent do, beyond their reach. Yet, obstructions of mobility do not exist solely in the minds of participants – rather, these examples underscore how an individual's class and race work to obstruct imaginations of freedom of movement. The following section highlights how entanglements of political and social structures work to obstruct mobile imaginaries through varying forms of displacement.

Mobility under forced displacement. A second theme that emerged in my participants' narratives of (im)mobility was the enduring impact of their family histories of displacement on their mobility. These effects materialized distinctly in my participants' lives and narratives, suggesting that experiences with displacement and attending social relations have to be historicized and contextualized to be ethically analyzed. Contrary to the dominant depictions of study abroad participants as privileged subjects and those who are absent as subjects with deficiencies, this study asks how participants' histories of mobility affect their ability to consider the possibility of travel. I find that various participants have hitherto experienced movement and travel as a consequence of forced displacement. That is to say, the counternarratives of minoritized first-generation, low-income participants did not associate their experiences of mobility to leisure travel or travel for cultural immersion. These participants' counternarratives are necessary to contextualize and realize how the politics of mobility have affected their understandings and ideations of mobility. In the following vignette, Celina offers insight into the obstructions of imaginative travel at the intersection of class and nationality.

Celina, a participant of the COE study abroad to Liverpool in 2002, explains that travel was never a high priority because her family's background was "quite poor." Celina was born in Nicaragua and moved to the United States at the age of seven. Celina elaborates on why travel was absent from conversation within the family.

> It wasn't something that we talked much about coming to the United States. We came from the economic as well as a civil unrest that was taking place in Nicaragua. But travel wasn't…vacationing and, you know, certainly traveling abroad was never even on anybody's radar.

Celina's lived experiences of mobility and travel conjure memories of coercion and the search for refuge. Celina's prior experience with movement led her to develop imaginaries of mobility associated with displacement as a result of economic and civil unrest, while travel under autonomous conditions and for the purpose of leisure did not figure within these imaginaries of mobility. In Celina's mind, movement served the purpose of seeking refuge, rather than leisurely travel, tourism, and personal enrichment. Travel was associated with the experience of displacement, and with the goal of avoiding violence and political unrest.

In neglecting the lived experiences and histories of mobility of intersectionally marginalized groups, practitioners and scholars in the field fail to conceptualize and imagine mobility in terms other than for the purpose of bourgeois self-enrichment. Mobility is often associated with one's right to choose where to live and explore through one's own frictionless decision making rather than the significance of social and institutional constraints (Hankins et al., 2014). Migration drivers, for those like Celina, often involve fear of violence (economic, physical, and structural). Although Celina and her family migrated from various forms of violence in Nicaragua, it is important that we

acknowledge that violence does not often end when migrants reach their place of "safety." Structural constraints persist in different forms that further obstruct ideations of mobility.

Imaginative travel was largely absent from the lived experiences of participants as they reflected on their upbringing as further demonstrated by Lorenzo, a 2015 participant of the COE study abroad to Salamanca, Spain. When I asked him if he ever dreamed of traveling at a young age, he immediately answers "no, no" and begins to laugh. Lorenzo stops to reflect:

> It sounds kind of odd like looking back now. Like, how did you not think of that? But it's surprising, it's almost like there was a fog there that just never even crossed…like even as an option, like never even crossed our mind. I mean, I guess I knew people went on vacations, but it just wasn't, I don't know. I guess it's a weird thing to try to think about to describe.

Lorenzo goes on to explain that his mother and extended family are refugees from Chile under Pinochet rule and were forced to flee to Argentina where they lived in a refugee camp. Lorenzo's mother never spoke of her history as a refugee but he once asked his grandmother about a family dish that they eat during Thanksgiving and she told him that they used to eat this dish in the refugee camp. He goes on to say,

> They actually were eating this, this food that my grandma actually makes all the time and I didn't even realize it was derived from that, that camp experience. But

> yeah, my grandma just described it as being a little bit traumatic, like seeing people dying around her and just trying to flee the country with her, with her kids. Yeah, and she just, she was crying and she was telling me. I guess I didn't realize like me asking a question was bringing up a lot of memories for her.

In this instance, Lorenzo's and his family's memories of mobility, particularly those of forced mobility, conjure feelings of tension and loss. Massey (1994) argues that there are groups who are continuously physically moving, but who are not in charge of the process in the same way at all. For example, refugees, undocumented migrant workers, and children of immigrants are "controlled via formal and informal policing, gates, passes, clothing, regulation of public space, surveillance systems that limit the right to move, filter entry and exit, and selectively apply the protection of the state" (Sheller, 2018, p. 135). Mobility is an entanglement of movement, meanings, and practice with traceable histories and geographies (Cresswell, 2010). Revisiting the meanings and politics of mobility exposes the inadequate and incomplete conceptualization of study abroad as a universal experience for all. Analyzed through an educational mobility justice lens, practitioners and scholars in the field of study abroad must account for how immigration regimes have historically or currently determined, limited, or eliminated freedom of student movement based on citizenship. In this way, they have the potential to illuminate voices that counters the hegemonic ideologies that define study abroad participants.

Issues of mobility are not simply limited to arriving at a particular space but also how you exist in that space. In continuation of a conversation from the previous section, Terry discusses why travel did not figure prominently in his imagination as a child. He explains that his lack of imaginative travel was due to his daily struggle for survival, a struggle exacerbated by the conditions under which he had to pursue his education in the wake of a disaster. Making landfall on the island of Puerto Rico on September 20, 2017, Hurricane Maria presented itself as a category 5 storm, striking mobility systems by cutting off electricity, water supplies, aid, and communication to a majority of the island (3.4 million inhabitants), particularly that of the poor and vulnerable (Zorilla, 2017). Terry recounts the impact that Hurricane Maria had on him, living without electricity for seven months.

> I was leyendo and studying en casa con vela, mientras mis compañeros tenían planta eléctrica y aire acondicionado. Yo estaba comiendo la comida de FEMA[13] mientras ellos obtenían recursos para comprar en los supermercados, porque ni siquiera los supermercados cerca de mi casa había carne, por ejemplo, y tenía que hacer una fila de ocho horas para entrar. Así que esos detalles, verdad, me calaron mucho emocionalmente, y sobre todo, fue todo un reto.

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[13] The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) food distribution did not meet Federal nutrition recommendation according to Colón-Ramos et al., (2019).

> English translation: I was reading and studying at home with a candle, while my classmates had a generator and air conditioning. I was eating the FEMA food while they were getting resources to buy at supermarkets, because not even the supermarkets near my house had meat, for example, and I had to stand in line for eight hours to get in. So those details, right, touched me a lot emotionally, and above all, it was a challenge.

Terry's reflection provides insight into the juxtaposition of recovery between the elite who have access to disaster relief resources and ties with government, and those who do not. Sheller (2020) argues that reconstruction after disasters reproduces inequalities in the motility or capability of differently located subjects, and it is built upon existing unequal mobility regimes. Said differently, although the hurricane did not discriminate between rich and poor, the recovery efforts and governmental responsiveness widened the gap between privileged and marginalized sectors of Puerto Rican society. Sustaining his presence in a formal educational space is further obstructed by class disparities and the needs endemic to his situation (i.e., traveling to the supermarket, doing homework, finding food). Bringing this to light, Terry discusses how he had to take his eleven-year-old sister to school with him because his mother had to work. He explains that during lunch he sat with his classmates who had quality prepared meals, whereas all he had for his sister was the FEMA meal that he described as "fea," or in English, ugly.

> Mi hermanita empezó a llorar porque veía a los demás y entonces yo le dije: tranquila. Y con lo poco que tenía, como 6 dólares, le compré un sándwich, I don't know, pero yo me fui al baño a llorar…
>
> English translation: My little sister started crying because she saw the others and then I told her: calm down. And with what little I had, like $6, I bought her a sandwich, I don't know, but I went to the bathroom to cry…

This memory was significant for Terry – he went on to exclaim: "Yo no puedo creer que yo no tenga tampoco el dinero para comprarle algo!" (English translation: "I can't believe that I don't even have the money to buy her something!"). Displacement then, is not just about the consequence of being displaced, it is also about the struggle to survive in one's place, the place that one is from, where one's family resides, and one in which escape or changing one's immediate environment is not an option. Terry struggled to avoid displacement, at a time in which hundreds of thousands (Meléndez & Hinojosa, 2017) were forcibly displaced from the island to the U.S. mainland. Terry's struggle to sustain his presence in an educational setting entailed negotiating how to meet his and his sister's basic needs. This experience stands out in contrast with those who had the privilege of taking energy, food, and transportation for granted. While navigating the challenges of post-disaster recoveries, meeting his and his sister's needs was at the forefront of his mind and took precedence over the idea of travel. Dominant discursive depictions of students from minoritized communities as deficient, and thus, unable to access study

abroad, and universalist notions of students as equally positioned to access study abroad, fail to account for the differential experiences of these students with disasters. The educational mobility justice framework accounts for how socially and economically marginalized groups lack resources to prepare and to recover from disasters, experience housing discrimination and geographic displacement which place them in areas prone to flooding, and are disproportionately exposed to environmental risks and hazards (Bullard, 2008).

Throughout the interview with Lesley, she identifies as biracial, nontraditional aged, disabled, first-generation, a mother, and low-income. Studying abroad with COE in 2019 at the Hague in the Netherlands, Lesley details how her and her family's lived experiences of displacement at the intersection of race and class identities impacted her motility. Lesley reveals her grandfather's journey through a narrative that captures how complex and devastating experiences of (im)mobility can be and their enduring impact. Lesley's experience, which highlights intergenerational aspects of immobility, may shed light on the ways in which mobility and material resources are allocated across generations.

Lesley begins by explaining that her indigenous grandfather was ostracized his entire life and suffered a great deal due to being orphaned at a young age. During the time of his parent's death, they were traveling with the Wild Bill Hickok show. To provide context, Buffalo Bill's Wild West show hired indigenous populations from diverse tribes

to reenact battle scenes. Vuillard (2016) explains that white families "bled themselves dry" for a chance to see a "real Indian" (p. 157). Vuillard (2016) continues to describe the booing, catcalls, and other jeers that the "Indian Chief" endured upon entrance into the arena (p. 160). Essentialized for purely their image, spectators received their monies worth with an opportunity to spit on and abuse the "Red Indian we came to see, the strange beast that prowled around our farmstead" (Vuillard, 2016, p. 160). Removed from their land and forced onto reservations, the indigenous community endured a forced displacement that was violent and traumatizing oftentimes succumbing to essentialized roles for survival.

Although Lesley's grandfather was Cherokee, he was then taken in by an older couple from the Cheyenne reservation. Lesley explains that the act of bringing in an outside tribe member was not often done during that time.

> They called him Nitsu, which meant of another nation. So even within that name, he was just constantly ostracized because, 'you're not one of us' type thing. So, when he was about 14, he ran away. And he was actually kidnapped by this white couple, and then ran away from them as well. And he enlisted in the military. He lied on his birth certificate. He was either 16 or 17 and went away to war. And then when he came back, because he didn't want to keep the name that he had from the people that had taken him, because at the time when he was taken in by the couple that took him, he didn't speak English. He only spoke Cheyenne. So, they took him

> in and basically made him an indentured servant. And then he dropped that name and took the name of someone from the war that had passed. My maiden name has no connection to anyone because my grandfather was just like, 'this was a cool guy, I want this name.' And he also really would try to say that he was Italian, which if you were to see photographs of him like, in no way shape or form did he look Italian. My father said that he only heard my grandfather speak Cheyenne once at a powwow. My grandfather took him to Oklahoma. When my grandfather saw that my father saw him speaking, he immediately stopped speaking. And my mother had asked him, well, why won't you ever really talk about it? And he said, 'you know, when something is so horrible, you don't want to remember it and you don't want to talk about it.' So, he would never and my mom never asked him again.

This anecdote illuminates the experience of forced displacement that impacted her family for generations to come. Additionally, the narrative brings to focus some of the implications of mobility injustice through the legacy of forced removal and settler colonialism, including the differentiated mobilities reinforced through control and power. The structural constraints and power geometries that produce these differentiated mobilities are oftentimes overlooked (Cresswell, 2006; Massey, 1991, 1994, 2005; Adey, 2017). The implications of an individual's relationships to these structural constraints suggest immobility, the limited ability to move, or unevenly experienced mobility, such as the spatial segregation of entire communities including tribal reservations (Hankins et

al., 2014). Although Lesley's grandfather coped with these barriers of mobility through his own agency in securing his freedom, the legacy of displacement and its intergenerational effects came through in her story. These modes of survival remain engrained throughout generations to the extent that mobility can be imagined.

As Celina, Lorenzo, Terry, and Lesley's narratives demonstrate, there are ethnoracial, class, juridical, and spatial constraints to mobility that unmistakably inform and constrain their imaginative travel. The narratives on immobility were through reflections on familial forced displacement as an escape from political violence, displacement as a result of natural disaster, and the intergenerational impact of settler colonialism. Entangled in these accounts are other structures of (im)mobility, including race and class inequality, that impact participants and their family's ability to exist and survive in space. The following section further explores structures that constrain mobility and mobile imaginaries by highlighting the emerging themes of gender, migration histories, ethnoracial, and class binds as vectors that impact Lesley, Elisa, and Nhung's lived experiences.

Gendered mobility. This section will illuminate the ways in which gender constructs can obstruct imaginative travel. Through the educational mobility justice framework and an intersectional approach, practitioners and scholars in the field of education can give considerations to the differentiated capacities and experiences of mobility for students as they are shaped by gender in relation with other experiences of

marginalization. Although the field of study abroad is dominated by female participation (IIE, 2019), I argue that mobilities are imagined, experienced, and practiced differently at the nexus of intersecting social structures, including that of gender. Accordingly, gender itself cannot be analyzed alone without consideration of class, immigration, and ethnoracial regimes.

In an interview with Lesley from the previous section, a mother of three boys who has persisted toward obtaining her bachelor's degree over the course of the last nine years, I ask her to reflect on whether travel was something that her family or husband ever talked about.

> Family wise, because I'm a female, travelling alone has always been discouraged within my parental units. You're a girl. You're small. It's dangerous. Traveling abroad and studying abroad is too dangerous. You shouldn't do it. It was discouraged, but it was definitely always something I wanted to do.

Lesley's response suggests that as "a girl," notions of mobility were discouraged by her family. Lesley goes on to explain that deep inside she always felt like she had a nomadic curiosity. Although she never actually moved out of state as a child or an adult, she was fulfilled by moving around her city every six months to a year. Even after having kids, Lesley described her reasoning for moving from place to place, "it was partially, ok, well, there's a good deal, but it was also like, well, we've lived on this side of town, but we

haven't lived on that side of town. Maybe there's something better over there." Referring to her curiosity for travel, Lesley explains,

> It was always like in the back of my head, but especially once I had kids at a young age, the whole idea of traveling just to me, went out the window. And that thought just left and it never came back. Even like entering community college as a non-traditional student and like an older adult, it was like, well, those traditional college experiences are not available to me. And that wasn't anything that anybody said, it was just more a thought that I had projected on myself. I'm not a regular college student, so I don't get to do all the things regular college students do.

Lesley's comments demonstrate that her curiosity to travel beyond her city limits faded over time. The domestic enclosure that Lesley experienced throughout her life began to affect the ways in which she began to think about her identity and in affect, her mobility. The gender-differentiated roles related to familial maintenance place greater responsibility on women to stay home and tend to their children, resulting in significant differences in mobility to the extent that ideations of travel become obstructed. This story demonstrates the ways in which Lesley's mobility was constrained, in terms of both identity and space. Lesley's comment also captures the "intricate relationship between space, mobility and imagination" (Gacek, 2017). The tension among Lesley's identity and space, generated a form of intrapersonal friction thereby inhibiting Lesley from experiencing imaginative travel. Acquiring mobility is often analogous to a struggle for

acquiring new subjectivity, a process that is constantly in a state of flux (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008). It is necessary to account for how identity and space interact to produce differentiated mobilities and ideations of mobility. Examining these experiences and the structures that shape them is important for making study abroad more equitable as they divert from dominant depictions of study abroad in terms of student intent, motivations, and barriers to studying abroad.

From the onset of our conversation, Lesley spoke openly and reflectively about the ways in which her family influenced her identity and educational journey. Lesley explains that "education was never really encouraged within my family with either one of my parents because neither one of them went to college." Reflecting on her homeschool education, Lesley struggled with her parent's religious aversion to science, those topics that fell outside of the bible, and her family's reproduction of dominant gender norms. Illuminating the ways in which gender roles affected her education, Lesley offers an explanation after some reflection,

> In hindsight now, I think, at the time it was like, oh, they don't really care about education, but I think a lot of it was that, I think they were kind of scared and felt bad about the fact that they never went to school. And so, there was no encouragement to go to college. It was like you basically need to make babies and that's your job because you're a woman and you take care of the house. So, for me, school was never even on my radar.

Expectations to fulfil societal and familial gender roles to “make babies” and “take care of the house” dominated Lesley’s mobility imaginary. Stifled from ideological heteronormative renderings of gender, Lesley behaved and existed in a space that was deemed acceptable. She goes on to explain that making it to college in the first place was difficult. Lesley’s sister passed away during her junior year of high school which she believed further contributed to waiting so long to pursue higher education.

> And I kind of feel like I filled that void with having kids, because that's what I was told to do, so it was like, ok, well, if I do this. This is what you're supposed to do. This will make me happy. My life will be complete. But there was just always like this piece that was missing.

In many cultural contexts, the limiting of women’s mobility has oftentimes been consigned as a means of subordination. Lesley understood her role through this gendered lens. Lesley’s story is evidence of intersectional forms of oppression. This example should prompt scholars and practitioners in the field to think about mobility as intergenerational, gendered, classed, and raced. The meanings given to mobility through Lesley’s narrative have been differentiated by her gender among other vectors. Despite the overrepresentation of women in study abroad, there is limited scholarship (Wick,

2011; Willis, 2015) that explores these complexities.[14] Considering intersectional forms of oppression can inform the field of study abroad about how individual experiences prior to studying abroad may be shaped by a conception of mobility, self, cultural norms, and sociopolitical phenomena. A gendered lens by itself cannot provide a holistic understanding of the barriers to mobilities that students face. Thus, we must come to see other lived experiences, such as immigration, as a gendered and racialized experience. The following narratives will amplify participants' experience with immigration and gender in the context of the diversity of their lived experiences and the structures that shape them.

Elisa and Nhung's narratives demonstrate how migration implicates their identity across contexts and in relation to nationality, gender, and class. The complexities of immigration signal that there is differential desirability for migration that intersect with gender. Furthermore, these narratives underscore that immigrant mobilities are racialized, whereby white immigrants are assigned a certain value over non-whites, what Ngai (1999) refers to as a hierarchy of desirability.[15] Racist histories of immigration policies,

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[14] Please see Chapter Two for more information on the limited literature that addresses intersectional analysis in the field of study abroad.

[15] Ngai (1999) argues that the hierarchy of privilege gives advantage to identity based on whiteness. Whereas Europeans identities were privileged and transformable, non-European immigrants and their racial identities became uncoupled and were rendered "unalterably foreign and unassimilable to the nation" (Ngai, 1999, p. 70).

including national quotas, enabled immigration from Nordic countries while limiting immigration from countries in the Global South, thus placing a higher value on white immigrants as potential contributors to the social constructed notions of the American nation as a white nation. Elisa and Nhung's narratives of immigration is shaped by their family's experience of immigration, their interaction with racist immigration regimes, and their struggle for incorporation.

The parallels in Elisa and Nhung's stories motivated me to analyze their narratives collectively. Although Elisa and Nhung were not interviewed together, corresponding themes of gender, language, family expectations, interaction with immigration regimes, legacies of immigration experiences, and burdens stemming from those experiences emerged throughout. Their stories illustrate the complexity and tension among interacting social structures of nationality, immigration, and gender to their mobility. Further, they speak to the structural entanglement of class, ethnoraciality, nationality, and gender in the production of mobility imaginaries and material barriers. Elisa and Nhung's responses invoke immigration status as an explanatory frame for their gendered subjectivity and mobility. Starting with Elisa's narrative, she explains that she was a community college student in the Midwest who participated in a COE short-term study abroad program in 2007 and an extended summer internship with COE in 2008, both in Liverpool. Elisa began her interview by explaining that she was born and raised in Yuriria, Guanajuato, Mexico, immigrating to the U.S. when she was sixteen years old.

Since birth, Elisa's father worked in the U.S. and only returned to Mexico once a year to visit. Elisa adamantly described the responsibility she carried from a young age. At the start of the interview, she says,

> I don't know if you grew up in another country or your parents are immigrants as well, but they, usually women, they give you more responsibility and they teach you to be more responsible because you are brought up to help others.

In recognizing that gender constructs are a matrix of behaviors, structures, and power relations, Elisa's perspective on responsibility provides insight into the ways she negotiated her identity as a woman and her role within her country and family. Similarly, when I interviewed Nhung, she also made it a point to mention gender positioning and to describe her role within her family. Nhung, originally from Vietnam, attended community college in the Midwest and studied abroad with COE in 2019 at the Hague in the Netherlands. Nhung introduces herself by stating "I'm Vietnamese. I grew up twenty-three years in Vietnam and I have three other sisters. No brother. So awful for my dad. He said, why I cannot have four boys?" She goes on to explain that her uncle sponsored her and her family to move to the U.S. in 2015. I ask Nhung how her family is adjusting to living in the U.S.

> Even now after five years, my parents' English did not improve much, even though they have tried. My mom can remember a little bit, but my dad kind of, he learned, he forgot it. He learned, he forgot it. And sometimes I complain about it. 'Hey dad, you have to try because like sometimes if like I am busy with school or something.

> How can I help you?' And he'd say, 'hey, if you were my age, you'd understand how – I really want to learn, but just because it's not in my mind.' And I said, 'okay dad, I understand.' Right now, I feel like I'm not just like, speaking for myself. I have to worry for my parents and my sister. So, it's like (impersonating her family) 'Can you make an appointment for me, please? Can you call the doctor for me, please? Hey, I have a medicine issue, why did they give me this?' So, I have to call them but I have class too. I have five classes. Because, if I take four classes, I have one class for free. So, I want to take advantage of that. It keeps me busy. When I'm at school or something and they keep calling me that they need help. 'Can you pick up medicine for me please? Can you do that daughter?'

Elisa and Nhung's counternarratives inform perspectives of immigration and nationality as vital vectors of identity. To understand how these identities intersect with (im)mobility, it is important to understand how these constructed categories of difference inhibit or enable participants' spatial, and consequently socioeconomic, mobility. Immigration to the U.S. is a racialized experience (Lee & Kye, 2016; Maldonado, 2009; Romero, 2008). Elisa and Nhung's countries of origin, and even the region within their countries, shaped their family's experience of immigration and struggle for incorporation. Immigration policies and dominant discourses place race-class subjugated subjects from the Global South at a disadvantage vis-à-vis those whose privilege travels cross-nationally, that is, citizens of countries in the Global North. In this way, the experience of

immigration and the regimes that shape it constitute an identity that inflects the forms of discrimination and oppression they and their families may have faced. The lived experience of immigration and dominant notions of who can migrate, for which reason, and the extent to which they are considered desirable, shape collective and individual imaginaries of future mobilities. The conditions under which social groups migrate shape identity formation processes, both through individualized processes of self-conception as well as through collective ideational processes that forward dominant notions of immigrants.[16]

Elisa was expected to work at an early age. She explains that she became used to bearing responsibilities. She began working at age twelve, and at the age of thirteen, began to help raise her sister. At a pivotal age in her life, she explains, her father was able to secure paperwork for the entire family to legally move to the U.S. Reflecting on this transition, she explains,

> Everything changed when I came to this country, like, everything changed. I went from being very active in the community and doing things to doing nothing because I was in survival mode. For a long, for like I can tell you, for 10 years I was on

[16] These dominant notions of immigrants and the differentiated perspectives based on countries of origin feed back into policies, which can further constrain or enable mobility.

> survival mode because of my lack of resources, because the lack of family support as well.

Relatively, Nhung explains that the transition to the U.S. was a "shock," comparing herself to a "baby starting to learn". Nhung goes on to explain, "I couldn't attend the college because I was around people's negative thinking all of that time. So, they keep telling me, 'oh my English not good. Why I go to college, I couldn't do that.' So, I worked two years at a factory." Elisa and Nhung's reflection signify that their family's lived experiences of international movement and travel were not catalysts for future movement. Conversely, the conditions under which their mobility took place actually worked to immobilize Elisa, Nhung, and their families in some ways. Like Terry, both Elisa and Nhung struggled with the spatial ramification of mobility, navigating how to exist in a place. Similar to Nhung's experience, Elisa recounts the responsibility she bore as a result of immigrating to the U.S., describing herself as taking on the role as her "parent's mom." Elisa also emphasizes her gendered role as a caregiver to her parents despite her own discomfort. Expressing exasperation in her voice, Elisa explained that her parents relied on her for everything because although her dad lived in the U.S. her entire life, he never learned the English language. Her mom did not know the English language and so she read the mail, set up and took them to appointments, and served as a translator despite not knowing the language herself. Elisa recounts an instance when her dad became unemployed and made her interpret for him at the unemployment office.

> I'm like, why? I don't know nothing. I don't know any terminology, like unemployment terminology. It's like, I don't even know how to have a conversation, like a normal conversation. Like a common conversation!

Elisa also drew attention to the effects of gender relations within her family on her mobility. This is further emphasized when she discusses her older brother's role in the family, "he was back and forth, back and forth because his goal... He had different goals; his goal was to get married." Elisa goes on to explain, "he was never around, even when he came back. He wasn't really mentally invested or anything. I mean, I was like the person who was kind of juggling with everything." This narrative illustrates clearly differentiated expectations of their time on the basis of their gender, and the corresponding allocations of positions of power and powerlessness that stem from gender hierarchies. Conversely, notions of gender, immobility, and time are brought to mind in Nhung's reflection on starting over in the U.S.

> Right now, when I think back about this, I mean, I say wow, I'm twenty-eight right now. How am I so old? I still go to school. I start everything again. When I look at my friends. They have their family and everything's settled. I'm so sad about that one.

Complicating dominant imaginings of mobility, Elisa and Nhung's subjectivities as migrant women are complex because of the interplay between gender, class structures, age, and meanings both in the U.S. and their countries of origin. Consequently, their

experiences of migration, characterized by insecure unemployment, familial disruptions, language barriers, and sense of isolation were driven by multiple and interacting modalities of oppression.

Elisa experienced a great sense of displacement when she left her country. Although Elisa and her family migrated, travel beyond that journey was never even considered. I ask Elisa if she ever thought about travel or mobility or dream of mobility when she was young. “No, I don't, I don't think you have those expectations when you live in a very small community, in a small community. And also, because you're learned to not dream, I don’t know if that makes sense.” Elisa explains that her parents were negative about dreaming because they never had positive influences in their lives and thought everything was impossible. She continues,

> I was brought up feeling like I was not sufficient, that I was no better than the other people, that I needed to be all humble, be a good girl, a good sister, a good daughter and it never crossed my mind because I was, I was never told that I could do it. Because always money, because always finances, finances are always an issue for them.

Through this statement Elisa is drawing attention to the intersection of class and gender structures, which jointly constrained her mobility. These material and gendered constraints to mobility are inextricably linked to her nationality and migratory experience that characterized her familial upbringing. Elisa’s lived experience at the intersection of

gender, class, and nationality interact to shape the material conditions and imaginary of her mobility. In conversation with Elisa's experience, Nhung gives an honest reflection when I ask her if her family regrets coming to the U.S.

> To be, (Nhung hesitates) to be honest, yes. Because with what they did in Vietnam, like they sell house and everything to come here. And now if they want to come back, they don't have any money now to buy a house or anything there…So even though they really want to go back, we don't have a choice. We don't have opportunity to do that.

Nhung's sense of place embodies memories of longing and emotion, complicating the meanings attached to the imaginary, practices, and embodiment of mobility. In summary, these were the structural assemblages that Lesley, Elisa, and Nhung had to cope with to go abroad. The absence of ideations of going abroad and the material circumstances for doing so cannot be explained simply by their class status alone. The multiplicative effects of interacting structures of oppression that they confronted stem from complex structural dimensions of power. This intersectional analysis of their counternarratives provides a more nuanced understanding of the barriers to study abroad than the privileged prototype that scholars in the field of study abroad have created to represent the American global ambassador and to rationalize the homogeneity in study abroad in U.S. higher education.

Conclusion

This chapter argues that the ability to study abroad depends upon an aspect of mobility that is both underacknowledged in the field and also implicated in politics, power, and hegemonic forces. This chapter furthers understandings of study abroad as more than a mere international experience. I argue that scholars and practitioners cannot universalize the circumstances and experiences of study abroad participants from different social groups or the presumed effects of study abroad on their lives, circumstances, and social relations in which students' lives unfold. Study abroad experiences are not inscribed onto a blank slate. When considering the backgrounds of first-generation, low-income, and minoritized students in particular, I find that class, migration histories, and gender all inform the mobility imaginations of my participants.

I forward an understanding of study abroad as an aspect of mobility that requires a critical historical analysis. Mobility is not merely an effect of the decision to study abroad, but a physical, juridical, and imaginative capacity that is structured within students' lives long before they enroll in higher education. Disparities in study abroad across these social groups have not been examined in relation to this mobility gap and the regimes that govern them. Through a holistic understanding of participants' reflective narratives, I identify the structural barriers to mobility that obstructed their movement, including forced displacement, immigration regimes, gender and ethnoracial norms, intergenerational immobility effects, as well as their class conditions.

This chapter forwards two main findings that reveal the ways in which participants' paths to mobility were obstructed. First, participants pointedly recognized that notions of imaginative travel were absent throughout their past. Considering imaginative travel as the process by which participants internalize the possibility of (educational) travel – or travel for travel's sake – the counternarratives of participants point to ideational obstructions rooted in social relations of power as a factor that shaped their lack of imaginative travel. Second, hegemonic notions of study abroad mobility uphold structural inequalities and influenced participant perspectives on a wide range of aspects of mobility, including travel. In particular, Eros, Megan, Laura, Jonathan, and Lizbeth all traced class status as the primary inhibitor to their imaginative travel. For Celina, Lorenzo, Terry, Lesley, Elisa, and Nhung, freedom of movement was further complicated by nationality, race/ethnicity, gender, and other material constraints. Furthermore, their family's own prior experiences produced intergenerational effects that also posed a barrier to their imaginaries. Insofar as mobility, in their minds, only took place for the purpose of economic exploitation, through experiences of displacement, and the trauma induced through their encounter with racialized immigration regimes.

An intersectional lens displays how structural dynamics including race, ethnicity, class, gender, and age interacted to shape their immobility. While impactful, class (nor citizenship status, gender, or racial identity) alone cannot explain participant immobility. In the case of Lesley, Elisa, and Nhung, they had to contend with both the gendered

expectations of their time allocation and personal aspirations, as well as with the permanent pursuit of financial survival. Neither gender or class alone can explain the challenges that they faced in the process of constructing imaginaries of mobilities and an agency by which they could cope with the structures that excluded them from studying abroad.

A history of exclusion of marginalized groups and their narratives from study abroad has given way to a field of scholarship that homogenizes study abroad participants, their experiences, and the long-term consequences of participation. These homogenized discourses relegate the narratives of intersectionally oppressed participants to the margins and contribute to the continuity of exclusive study abroad practices and policies. In doing so, the discursive construction of the ideal study abroad participant as a white, cisgendered, and affluent citizen of the Global North perpetuates the immobility of intersectionally marginalized groups. Immobility, as Sheller and Urry (2006) argue, occurs through structural and discursive constructions that participants in this study faced through interactions with class, ethnoracial, and immigration regimes.

The counternarratives of low-income, first-generation minoritized participants hold the potential of challenging the dominant discourses in scholarship that essentializes their absence in study abroad programs as the result of social group deficits. In contrast to these dominant narratives, participants in this study encountered ideational and structural obstructions to their imaginative travel and mobile imaginaries. These ideational

obstructions occurred in interaction with the complex power relations embedded in their histories of mobility. Practitioners in the field of higher education, particularly international education, can resist reproducing hegemonic notions of study abroad participants by applying the educational mobility justice framework to consider the ways in which social group mobilities have been shaped by the politics of mobility.

Notably, this study introduces the notion of educational mobility justice to examine the assemblage of discursive and material barriers that obstruct the access of intersectionally marginalized groups to educational opportunities, programs, and institutions. I draw from participant counternarratives to highlight how participants navigated these interlocking vectors of marginalization. For example, by amplifying the voices of my participants, their stories illuminated the complex intertwined relations between ideations of the nation, class, race, and gender in mobility and study abroad. The educational mobility justice framework challenges hegemonic understandings of the exclusive and homogenized conceptualization of the ideal study abroad participant. Hegemonic idealizations of desirable study abroad participants rest upon unquestioned histories and regimes of national ethnoracial exclusion, heteropatriarchal gender norms, and social class hierarchies. The inability to recognize these histories and regimes within the research and practice of study abroad allows the reproduction of notions of first-generation, low-income, minoritized students as deficient and/or marginal study abroad subjects. Neglecting differential mobility histories reproduces the dominance of

universalist assumptions about the circumstances of potential study abroad participants and the effects of study abroad participation. Further, dominant market-based logics of study abroad rely on these assumptions to develop cost-benefit analyses that render students from marginalized groups as unworthy of investment. Insofar as these assumptions inform study abroad policies and resource allocations, scholars and practitioners should expect the continuity of the study abroad mobility gap.

Chapter Five

Institutional and Agentic Mechanisms of Educational Mobility Justice

Chapter Four examined immobility in relation to the structural dynamics that heavily constrained participant experiences prior to studying abroad. This chapter examines how participants subvert immobility and explores the techniques presented by TRIO programs and administrators in particular that enable participants' international mobilities. I find that participants gain mobility in the educational context through the intervention of those in their network who disrupt the dominance of the idea that they cannot move. Participants consistently reported that family members and higher education administrators among others in participant communities intervene in their lives and assume instrumental roles in their reimagining of possibilities of mobility. Upon gaining recognition of the possibility of altering their material circumstances and developing imaginations of alternative mobility futures, the once hegemonic ideas of immobility are disrupted and a potentiality for movement is generated.

Participants in this study created pathways that allowed them to navigate issues of mobility through the support and guidance of their TRIO[17] programs, TRIO

[17] Designed to serve first-generation, low-income, and/or students with disabilities, TRIO Student Support Services is a Federal Department of Education program enacted by the Higher Education Act of 1965. There are currently 1,156 grants administered by higher education institutions in every state in the continental U.S., Guam, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. TRIO is designed to provide opportunities for academic

administrators, their community networks, and through an extraordinary amount of agency[18] to cope with the status quo in study abroad. Participants develop and seize opportunities to study abroad through an emancipatory praxis (Freire, 2004) that entails identifying and drawing upon resources from their networks and communities. Paulo Freire's scholarship (2004) informs my use of an emancipatory praxis. In the context of this study and at the influence of TRIO program administrators, participants adopt an emancipatory praxis that leads them to critically identify and reflect on the structures that have bound their mobility. Further, this praxis motivates participants to commit themselves to actualizing their ideas of mobility. Study abroad participants from ethnoracial-class subjugated positions are agents who must negotiate between their aspirations and material constraints. Their ability to imagine an alternative to the constraints of their material realities is central to developing pathways by which they can go abroad. These imaginaries of mobility inform their agency and emancipatory praxis. In this chapter, I find that participants do not passively accept the ideational and structural dynamics that produce their immobility, but rather they actively confront these

development, student assistance with basic college requirements, and motivation toward the successful completion of their postsecondary education (U.S. Department of Education, 2020).

[18] I am informed by Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) conceptualization of agency as "engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal relational contexts of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations" (p. 971).

obstructions to their mobility. In this view, an emancipatory praxis that seeks mobility justice stems from the idea that an alternative to immobility is possible.

The findings of this chapter demonstrate how first-generation, low-income study abroad minoritized participants are active agents that engage in efforts to shape their educational futures. Accordingly, I argue that they should be seen as agents (or agentive), as opposed to "deficient" recipients of universally distributed educational goods and services. Participants in this study do not simply accept the status quo of immobility. Instead, they mobilize and draw from their existing networks to create and seize opportunities where others may not see them. In examining their lived experiences, this chapter brings attention to how participants creatively subvert power structures that have governed their family and individual rights to move. This subversion leads participants to discover a sense of freedom through emancipatory forms of movement.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: first, I introduce TRIO Student Support Services programs as a pivotal higher education program for participants, designed to improve the educational status of marginalized students in higher education. Further, TRIO administrators intervene in the lives of participants through a series of efforts aimed at disrupting dominant ideologies and discourses that have impeded their ability to imagine travel as a possibility. By *possibility*, I refer to the process by which participants become aware of, explore, and navigate broader alternatives for their actions and ways of thinking (Glăveanu, 2020). Next, this chapter explains how TRIO administrators shape

understandings of travel as a possibility for participants, so as to consider the possibility of travel outside of conditions of economic exploitation, seeking refuge from political violence and displacement among other negative associations to mobility.

By challenging participants' understandings of mobility, TRIO administrators shape their ideas of travel as a possibility by normalizing possibility for participants in an effort to cultivate new mobility imaginaries. Normalizing possibility refers to the efforts implemented by TRIO administrators that present the notion of travel as a normal activity that their students have the right and ability to participate in. Further, the normalized notions of possibility and mobility among participants of TRIO programs spills over to siblings, parents, and the larger TRIO community. Participants in this study acknowledge that TRIO personnel found creative ways to empower them beyond their immediate challenges. Participant narratives highlight that TRIO programs were able to achieve this impact by creating community among its participants through the development of unique and trusting relationships.

The third section of this chapter illustrates how participants actualize their agency at home as they transform their past challenges toward possibility and mobility. This study addresses how Community Cultural Wealth theory (Yosso, 2005) can shift a research lens away from a deficit view of participants' inability to study abroad as participants in this study transcend immobility to gain study abroad mobility through the act of financial mobilization. Financial mobilization refers to the complex strategies that

participants undertook to raise funds to study abroad. Participants achieved their financial goals to study abroad by leveraging their *cultural registries*. Cultural registries points to the range of cultural practices that race-class subjugated communities generate as a means of survival and mobility, by tapping into families, community networks, and their own skillset and talents.

The fourth section of this chapter analyzes how participants' experiences of mobility before, during, and after the program impact their ideas of possibility. The findings illustrate how participants, as a result of study abroad, begin to reassess possibility beyond the limited future of study abroad, not only for themselves, but also for future generations of TRIO students, their families, communities, and other personal networks. In this respect, participants indicate that the effects of their study abroad experiences are collective and shared, rather than accruing as individual benefit.

The concluding section describes how experiences abroad impact participants' sense of time (i.e., rhythms or changes involved in social processes) and space (i.e., how movement is practiced, experienced, apprehended, and embodied), which are absent from literature on the benefits of study abroad participation. Participants in this study reexamine, reallocate, and reappropriate time and space as a result of their experience studying abroad. Notably, I expand on the temporal aspects of study abroad to reflect the circumstances of participant lives. I also expand on spatial aspects, as participants' confrontation with social time shifts their conceptualizations of temporality. Through

this, participants enact practices at odds with hegemonic constructs of ageism, nationalism, heteronormative experiences, and the neoliberal market evaluation of time.

This chapter speaks to my research question about the extent to which universalist assumptions about the benefits of study abroad that dominate literature compare and contrast with the lived experiences of minoritized students who study abroad. Participant narratives on the benefits of study abroad stand in sharp contrast to universalist notions of study abroad depicted in literature. Intercultural awareness, career development, and global awareness, among other skills, serve as the primary benefits study abroad scholarship promotes. Although participants may experience these benefits, their narratives highlight benefits absent from literature. These include: a participant's ability to imagine possibility beyond material constraints; experiencing a broadening of mobility post-study abroad; independence from unhealthy and challenging circumstances; spillover effects of these benefits to families, friends, and peers; and a reclamation of time and space abroad and at home.

TRIO Student Support Services

All participants who interviewed and partook in the focus group for this study were members of TRIO Student Support Services[19] at the time of their study abroad program. As outlined in Chapter Three, TRIO emerged from President Lyndon Johnson's "war on poverty," specifically as part of the Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965 that authorized a series of educational opportunity programs designed to assist disadvantaged students (Brewer et al., 2002). These programs are referred to as TRIO, after the three original HEA authorized programs (e.g., Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Student Support Services). TRIO defines disadvantaged students as 1) first in their families to obtain a bachelor's degree, 2) low-income based on Federal poverty guidelines, and/or 3) students with a disability. TRIO Student Support Services programs (hereinafter referred to as TRIO) provide extensive student services and dedicated staff to eligible students in the form of tutoring, personal and career counseling, financial advising, mentoring, and other services catered to student needs.

While these domains of service are important, they do not capture the entirety of the support that TRIO offices and administrators provide to students. In relation to students' pathways to study abroad, TRIO programs function as an influential actor in the

[19] Participants of this study were members of TRIO Student Support programs across the United States, including community colleges and four-year institutions in California, Colorado, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, Puerto Rico, Utah, and Washington.

lives of participants in that they operate with the mission to enable access to educational opportunities and to improve the status of vulnerable student populations. Participant narratives in this chapter highlight how TRIO administrators enact a series of efforts aimed at disrupting dominant structures that have affected their ability to imagine travel, as well as hegemonic discourses that lead them to believe that travel and other opportunities are not possible for them.

In this chapter, I discuss the findings that TRIO administrators are able to disrupt the dominant idea of the immutability of immobility in the minds of participants and cultivate new mobility imaginaries. As Tett (2004) argued, if educational inequities "are to be properly addressed, and systematically dismantled, there is a need to understand issues of process and structure, and exclusion and choice, in all their complexity" (p. 252). In this way, TRIO administrators contribute to disrupting hegemony on college campuses by: confronting the day-to-day understanding of hegemonic power relations on campus; understanding how institutional hegemony universalizes and generates deficit driven discourse and reproduces educational inequalities for marginalized students on campus; engaging in the construction of knowledge, skills, agency, and possibilities for ethnoracial and socioeconomically marginalized students within higher education; and developing trust and a community of belonging and inclusion. This study finds that TRIO administrators helped intervene and disrupt prevalent understandings of mobility and cultivate mobility imaginaries. Beyond the Federal grant deliverables that TRIO

administrators are required to meet, participant narratives highlight TRIO programs as important catalysts of opportunity as they challenge dominant hegemony deeply rooted in the values, history, and practices of institutional culture.

Normalizing possibilities. Institutions of higher education are central to the continuation of hegemony rather than the liberation from it (Giroux, 1999; McLaren, 2003). Positioned to unearth the apparatuses that "educational systems employ to reproduce existing social relations" (Webb et al., 2002, p. 114), participant narratives describe TRIO administrators as influential actors who identified ways to normalize their experiences that were otherwise subjugated to universalist assumptions (i.e., dominant depictions in literature that non-white minoritized students do not exist as study abroad beneficiaries) and deficit framing notions in higher education (i.e., the deficits participants embody rather than the unique narratives that contribute to the field of study abroad). Participants highlighted the ways that TRIO administrators worked closely them to establish a high degree of trust, community, and rapport that allows them to intervene in participants' personal, academic, and professional pathways. It is this trusting relationship, often described by participants as an extension of their family, that allow TRIO administrators to plant seeds of possibility. By normalizing possibilities, TRIO administrators disrupt the ideologies and structures that have constrained participant mobility.

Lesley, introduced in the previous chapter, a Native American mother who studied abroad at the age of 36, explains how she was introduced to study abroad as a nontraditional aged student at a community college in Michigan. Laughing she says, "Basically, one of the TRIO advisors was like, fill this out, you're going." She goes on to explain that exposure to travel was a reoccurring practice of TRIO since her initial start in the program. Every summer TRIO would introduce her to an in-state travel program and encourage her to apply and attend. By the time she was introduced to the study abroad opportunity, her advisor told her, "Oh, you've got this. You did all these other things." A mother of three, Lesley's TRIO advisor further alleviated her anxiety about leaving her children to study abroad by highlighting the other instances she successfully left them while in TRIO. "You left them (her children). You can do it." Lesley explained that she kept telling herself that she could not do it, but her advisor insisted and told her: "Just apply. Let's see if you even get in. And then if that happens, we'll figure it out from there." Lesley spoke about the importance of TRIO presenting opportunities for her incrementally, including a summer research opportunity at a four-year university two hours away from her home the summer prior to study abroad. The experiences provided her with what Lesley describes as a "practice try," acclimating her to leaving her husband and children, challenging her understanding of what is possible, and the freedom to once again imagine her right and ability to move as a student, a woman, and a mother.

Lesley's TRIO advisor was conscious of the broader social structures that she had confronted and continues to confront. Through this consciousness, Lesley's TRIO advisor created a range of manageable opportunities for travel to increase her confidence, abilities, and possibilities. By doing this, she reinforced Lesley's agentic capabilities through the generation of new mobility imaginaries. Normalizing travel beyond the everyday has disruptive potential for how participants see themselves, the extent to which they imagine possibilities to travel, and realize their agency with respect to studying abroad. Similarly, the following vignette from Lorenzo highlights the impact of a possibility agent on Lorenzo's agentic abilities.

First introduced in Chapter Four, Lorenzo explains that as a biology major, he was required to take two years of a foreign language. Testing out of one credit of Spanish, he was unsure how he would fit an additional semester of Spanish into his graduation plan. While in a meeting with his TRIO advisor, she mentioned to him the possibility of fulfilling his Spanish credits through a summer semester of study abroad. Recounting that discussion, Lorenzo exclaimed:

> I was like, you're crazy! (Lorenzo and I begin to laugh) It's kind of embarrassing to admit, but I was very resistant to the idea, honestly. I was like, you're crazy. But no, she's very persistent. And she was just like, if you're willing, I'll sit down with you and I'll show you how – you just do this…this…and this…I forget at

> what point I was actually onboard. But I was just kind of like, alright, you got me, just tell me what to do.

By interacting with his TRIO advisor, Lorenzo underwent significant cognitive shifts with respect to his international mobility, from resistance, to hesitancy, to embracing an emergent mobility imaginary. I asked him why he felt resistant to considering study abroad as an option. “I think it was more so, uncomfortable.” He continued, “Honestly, looking back, it seems odd, like almost like she's crazy for even mentioning that. How is this gonna happen? Because that's not what people do.” Lorenzo pauses, “but...but it is, it is what people do.” This is demonstrative of Lorenzo’s internalization of ideas of who can move and who cannot move to such a degree that he calls his advisor crazy simply for suggesting it. Universalist assumptions and dominant discourses in scholarship and practice that shape who should, can, and do go abroad obstructed Lorenzo’s inability to imagine travel as something that “people do.” It was not until his advisor disrupted this hegemonic discourse that he even considered study abroad as an option.

Pointing to the power of TRIO programs, Lorenzo explains that he didn’t know how to navigate the process to go abroad. “I was like, I don’t know what to do. All this stuff! She was just like, ‘Lorenzo, don’t worry, we will figure it out.’” His advisor took him to the post office to get his passport and worked with him step-by-step to ensure he fulfilled all of the requirements. Upon recognizing the absence of formal infrastructures in place to assist Lorenzo with his pathway to go abroad, his advisor went above and

beyond the job description of an advisor to nurture and cultivate his agentic abilities and help him identify mechanisms by which he could go abroad. In helping him to apply and prepare for the experience, his advisor was also demonstrating strategies that led him to envision an alternative future, possibility, and social reality as she drove him to the post office, showed him how to fill out an application, and talked to him about navigating an airport. Speaking to these strategies that TRIO administrators promote, Jonathan's narrative signals that at the insistence of his TRIO advisor, his confrontation with the idea of study abroad changed from an insistence of "this isn't going to happen," to one of possibility and materialization.

Jonathan identifies as an "African American Black male" and a musician. I asked him if study abroad was ever a notion that he considered pursuing while in college. In response, Jonathan called attention to the influence TRIO had on his decision to study abroad in Spain.

> I never thought about study abroad. I had some great people around me that gave me the idea of studying abroad. It never, never even crossed my mind, even though it was a thing. I was a part of TRIO in college and one day my advisor talked to me and is like, 'hey, we have this study abroad. You should totally go.' I'm just like, I don't know. I don't really speak that much Spanish right now… just giving all possible excuses.

Here, Jonathan signals TRIO as the mechanism that transformed his ability to imagine travel and study abroad as a possibility, despite material constraints. At the insistence of TRIO, he began to seriously consider it as an option and eventually began studying the Spanish language and preparing scholarship essays. His experience demonstrates the disruption of the discursive powers that portray study abroad as an experience only for white middle-class females, and that those who do not study abroad "lack" in ways that inhibit them from doing so. Jonathan shifts from insisting that it cannot happen to exploring possibilities of study abroad. By encouraging and normalizing a participant's imaginative travel, TRIO administrators provide meaningful alternatives to the hegemonic ideologies that universalize and limit participation in study abroad. The impacts of normalizing possibility are not isolated to participants of TRIO. The following section underscores the effects of these efforts that extend to participant families and community members.

Intergenerational and community effects. Intergenerational and community effects were attributed to interventions initiated by TRIO administrators and enforced through participant mobility. Particularly, intergenerational and community effects of TRIO programs and administrators were evident in the narratives of Lorenzo and Liz, previously introduced in Chapter Four. Notions of possibility were transmitted to siblings, parents, and the larger TRIO community. Lorenzo speaks to his family's reaction to the prospect of him studying abroad.

> They thought I was a little bit crazy. They of course wanted to support me. I honestly don't think my mom even believed me. At first, I was like, mom, I'm going to go to Spain and study Spanish there for a semester in the summer, and I think she thought I was crazy. But the closer it got and I think maybe once my passport came, that's when she was like, oh, he's serious.

As Lorenzo's mom's mobility imaginary begins to shift from disbelief to possibility, this narrative suggests that TRIO also has the ability to disrupt the discourses and structures that obstruct participants' families from imagining travel and other opportunities. O'Shea (2015) refers to this influence as the ripple effect on a family. Through a more thorough consideration of TRIO on intergenerational effects, we can begin to see familial spillover as Lorenzo's mother shifts from disbelief that he would travel to Spain toward a realization of an alternate possible trajectory of mobility for her son. Lorenzo's journey to studying abroad beautifully conveys that its benefits are not merely individual, but profoundly shared and experienced.

In a focus group with Liz, who identified as low-income, Mexican, and a first-generation college student, she asserted that work was a necessary aspect of her academic career. In addition to the material constraints she identified in Chapter Four, Liz signaled that her responsibility to work in college further obstructed her ability to imagine travel as a possibility. "I mean, I worked full time going to school, which was hard. So, it didn't leave a lot of room for, you know, your typical college experiences." TRIO programs

generate the conditions whereby participants question hegemonic constructs while also acknowledging the varied challenges that minoritized first-generation, low-income students navigate in higher education.

> I never thought that studying abroad was going to happen. I never thought it was even a possibility until my TRIO adviser told me about it. And even then, I kind of shrugged it off because I thought…I'm not going to be the one that's picked. This isn't going happen, you know. I'll do it. But I don't think that it's going be me.

In this narrative, Liz is still quite doubtful that study abroad is something that she would even be considered for but she begins to consider it as a possibility. TRIO administrators provide the conditions for a participants' emancipatory praxis of possibility by persistently striving to disrupt existing discourses and ideologies that construe them as deficient, unable, or uninterested in study abroad. The disruptions are essential to enabling students' abilities to construct new imaginations and conceive of alternative possibilities. Through her narrative, Liz demonstrates how intergenerational transmission of possibility occurred within her family.

> I really, really had a lot of support, thankfully, from TRIO and from other multicultural programs that were on my campus. For that, I was extremely privileged. My brother was in TRIO, and my little sister is now in TRIO. So, we're a TRIO type of family and I had an incredible advisor.

Liz's experiences suggest that TRIO can influence aspirations of education among siblings. Further, TRIO can extend one participant's experience to benefit their own communities. In particular, Liz explained that her TRIO advisor presented study abroad as an opportunity to give back to other TRIO students on her campus.

> I applied not thinking that it was possible or still worried about the costs, but TRIO really, really helped. They asked me to just very be honest going through the process so that I could help other individuals. They said we'll sponsor you, but just know that we would love for your insight when you come back on how to help out future students who want to go through the process. That's kind of how it all started.

Liz's narrative further signals that TRIO has far reaching effects beyond the individual student. Moreover, TRIO administrators recognize and understand how to speak to the complexities that marginalized populations face outside of study abroad.

"I became aware of my power." As a community college student in Michigan, Elisa speaks to the significant impact that TRIO had on her personal trajectory. Highlighted in the previous chapter, Elisa is originally from Mexico and studied abroad with COE in Liverpool. She immediately began her interview by describing the ways that TRIO aided her path, including giving her "support," "tools," "energy," "motivation," "empowerment," and "life."

> Being from a low-income family, not knowing the language, among other barriers, it was difficult to go to school. I also did not have transportation and I took the bus for several years. And it was difficult altogether because of all these barriers, you know, also at the time I was dating a person who was abusive to me and TRIO saved my life. Study abroad, this trip in 2007 saved my life. Thanks to going abroad, this person went away.

Elisa's pathway to study abroad was not an ordinary one, yet it was one that benefited her beyond any purported benefit published in study abroad literature. Elisa's narrative signals that study abroad can benefit participants in the form of independence outside of unhealthy and challenging circumstances.

> I tried to just leave the relationship. And I just couldn't because this person was so obsessed and abusive to me that I just couldn't. I just didn't know what to do. So, then she [Elisa's TRIO advisor] helped me find the study abroad. And I actually was the first person who did this program at the community college. My advisor played a very important role in me getting out of the country because I didn't know what to do. And as a result of me going abroad, this person went away.

Elisa's TRIO program and advisor not only disrupted the structures that obstructed Elisa's imaginative travel, such as immigration regimes and material constraints discussed in the previous chapter, but they also demonstrated that there was a possibility beyond her abusive relationship. Elisa was presented with an opportunity to break

oppressive circumstances, leading her to repeatedly state that TRIO, her TRIO advisor, and her study abroad experience "saved my life." By holistically meeting the needs of participants, TRIO advisors as described by participants in this study, sought to understand their students in a way that other higher education administrators may not. In this case, study abroad presented Elisa with the opportunity to leave an abusive relationship and find strength "to break that cycle of violence, break that relationship, because otherwise he wouldn't go away." This experience not only disrupted her experience of abuse, but it also presented her with a space where she could realize her agency and possibilities beyond that of study abroad. Elisa adamantly says that through this experience, "I became aware of my power. It helped me say to myself, if I can leave, if I can study abroad, if I was chosen, then I can do anything. I got the power." The internal power that Elisa describes is one that she found as a result of resisting the structures that manifested through her journey of immigration amidst the material constraints discussed in Chapter Four, and the emancipation that occurred at the intervention of TRIO.

"You don't know me, like… I can't do that!" TRIO as community. Megan, the participant who identified as biracial, queer, and first generation in Chapter Four, describes study abroad as something that she had no intention of doing. Her TRIO director told her, "We have an opportunity for you to apply…you need to do this and if you don't, I think you'll regret it."

> I just don't think I would have been open to it had it been the study abroad office. Had they been like, come on, why aren't you going? I'd be like, I don't know you. You don't know me…I can't do that! I think because it was someone in my community who believed in me, who knew me, knew my circumstances, who said, you need to do this and we're gonna help you do this. I think that is like linchpin for TRIO students to have those people who support them, know them, and expose them to these ideas and opportunities that they wouldn't normally seek out, or even know about.

A program's ability to effectively improve outcomes for low-income, first-generation minoritized students relies on its ability to intimately understand their unique needs beyond financial aid. Guided by participant narratives, I found that TRIO programs worked to meet student needs across vectors of identity including age, gender, nationality, ethnoracial, sexual orientation, and immigration. Furthermore, TRIO administrators held unique insights into the institutional and hegemonic systems in place designed to obstruct participant success. TRIO tailors its services by recognizing participant strengths, challenges, and personal and structural complexities. More importantly, through her narrative, Megan signals that TRIO administrators' influential role was only made possible through the development of trust, cultivating a culture of community that extends well beyond that of traditional support programs.

> The fact that she picked me out of the crowd and said, you're going to do this. Was life, literally life-altering and I think just having that group of people in TRIO believe in TRIO participants is, is part of why we succeed, because we have somebody who understands the system, who wants us to succeed beyond those people who may not understand the system and may or may not be supportive.

Megan's message acknowledges that TRIO is distinct from other campus organizations. Regardless of the knowledge that a study abroad office may have regarding programs overseas, they oftentimes lack the capacity to serve these communities. According to Thayer (2000), interventions aimed to serve first-generation, low-income students also tend to benefit the general student population, but "strategies that are designed for general campus populations, without taking into account the special circumstances and characteristics of first-generation and low-income students, will not often be successful for the latter" (p. 3). For Megan, the study abroad office and their staff were not a part of her community. This gestures that a high degree of trust was necessary in the deliverance of the idea of study abroad, before she could even consider it as an option.

Acting as an invisible mechanism of control and regulation, the presence of hegemony in institutions of higher education is evident through institutional beliefs, practices, and social structures (Apple, 1980; Bourdieu, 1977). According to Gramsci (1971), the strength of hegemony is its subtle influence to manipulate people's false

consciousness[20] (i.e., a commonsense notion that travel and study abroad is not designed for student like them) and normalize experiences to the extent that people actively consent to their own subjugation. This section demonstrates that TRIO administrators in the lives of participants, recognized these processes of marginalization and intervene to dismantle institutional structures designed to negatively affect student outcomes and experiences. Once TRIO administrators disrupted notions of immobility, participants developed agency (i.e., their ability to actively transform their past challenges toward possibility) that allowed them to be mobile. Consequently, this experience of mobility under new circumstances then opened up new ideas of possibility that extended well beyond the realm of education and study abroad. These experiences of mobility have long lasting impacts not simply on participants' ideas of mobility. By virtue of creating new ideas of mobility, this allows them to explore things that they may have never considered possible. The following section examines participant narratives that showcases their willingness to engage in new endeavors by exercising agency and transforming notions of impossibility of travel to actualizing the experience of study abroad.

Actualizing Agency

[20] Gramsci (1971) argues that hegemony invisibly operates by exploiting common experiences, values, and beliefs that are accepted as common sense. This common-sense, disguises hegemony as normal and becomes a person's false consciousness. Lukes (2005) refers to false consciousness as "cognitive power of considerable significance and scope; namely the power to mislead" (p. 87).

In order to realize this possibility, participants themselves engage in agency by transforming ideas of impossibility of travel to actualizing study abroad participation. Yosso's (2015) community cultural wealth framework informs this study as it

> shifts the research lens away from a deficit view of Communities of Color as places full of cultural poverty disadvantages, and instead focuses on and learns from the array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed by socially marginalized groups that often go unrecognized and unacknowledged. (p. 69)

This project seeks to build on this departure from a deficit view of Communities of Color. Yosso (2015) argues that community cultural wealth centers the experiences of People of Color in a critical historical context that reveals accumulated assets and resources. Yet, community cultural wealth and accumulation of assets invokes a market-oriented nomenclature that I seek to depart from, given its pervasiveness in the understanding of study abroad and the reproduction of dominant discourses of individualism and who is worth investing in. Rather, I find that students enact agency to creatively subvert oppressive structures as members of their identified social group and tap into their *cultural registries* to achieve their mobility abroad.

I refer to participant cultural registry as the range of cultural practices that race-class subjugated communities generate as means of survival and mobility, including academic networks, familial collective agency, community support, and personal skills

and talents. The notion of cultural registries allows a conceptualization of mobility of race-class subjugated communities as the result of collective efforts. Just as their immobility is a collectively experienced phenomenon, so is their mobility. Immobility stems from the oppressive consequences of intersecting social structures. Social groups, not just individuals, experience the immobility that results from oppressive social structures. These social structures are the consequences of the intended and unintended actions of large numbers of individuals and groups (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Young, 1990). Challenging and subverting these social structures in ways that enable mobility requires collective imaginings and efforts.

This notion of mobility as the outcome of collective struggles stands in contrast to depictions of the study abroad mobility gap as the result of successful individual efforts whereby skillful and adept students triumph over the deficient. This section finds that participants are skillful and strategic in amassing the resources needed to study abroad. I argue they are not absent of capital (i.e., financial and social). Rather, they extract and use knowledge from their cultural registries on how to navigate, occupy, and sustain themselves in space. The following section will outline the ways that participants engage with agentic learning aimed at building participant awareness, capacity, and individual power to study abroad.

Financial mobilization. Financial barriers are often cited as one of the primary inhibitors to marginalized student participation in study abroad (Brux & Fry, 2010;

Dessoff, 2006; Evans, 2009; Kasravi, 2009; Salisbury et al., 2011; Whatley, 2017). Although financial responsibilities were a source of concern for participants in my study, it did not necessarily inhibit them from studying abroad. Once their capacity for imaginative travel was realized, they began to enact agency by mobilizing TRIO, families, and community networks, and by leveraging their own diverse skills. Notably, contrary to the normal financial pathways (parental financial support and student loans) for study abroad for dominant social groups, these participants drew upon collective resources and community networks to fashion pathways to study abroad. I find that when faced with the challenges of coping with financial obstruction to mobility, participants tap into their cultural registry of practices within their social groups that are deployed as a means of survival and mobility. I argue that participants engaged in a form of financial mobilization defined as a strategic and intentional action of bringing resources into use for study abroad. TRIO and participant community networks served as vital resources in their financial mobilization efforts, thereby challenging deficit rhetoric by tapping into cultural registries (i.e., academic networks, families, community support, and personal skills and talents) in order to realize mobile possibilities. This mobilization aspires to achieve a transformation of participants' ideas and of their material circumstance, and of those of their families and communities.

An apt example of financial mobilization derived from participant cultural registries came from Jonathan. Highlighted in the previous section, Jonathan studied

abroad with COE in 2016 during his tenure at a Midwestern community college. I ask Jonathan how he managed to pay for study abroad once he was accepted into the program. Confidently, he says “It’s going to sound cliché, but a lot of hard work and planning.” Apart from applying to and receiving every scholarship he applied for, Jonathan organized and held a concert. Through these efforts he was able to fund his study abroad “and then some.”

> I asked a bunch of musician friends to come play and invited everyone I knew from the school. Surprisingly, a lot of people showed up and everyone was able to give a little bit. I mean, it was probably about a 45-minute concert. A mix of classical music, pop music, rock music. So, it's kind of like a collage concert slash fundraiser...the concert was just a mix of different music and a lot of people came out and supported the whole idea behind it. So, it's pretty cool.

By mobilizing and utilizing resources from his cultural registry of campus peers, TRIO, family, and talent, Jonathan was able to strategically and effectively finance his study abroad experience. Beyond mere fundraising, Jonathan demonstrated the complexities involved in strategically mobilizing resources to make study abroad mobility become a reality. I asked him why he believed finances did not pose a barrier to going abroad.

> I'll say the biggest reason it (money) wasn't a barrier, is having a support system, but not just any support system, but a support system with a knowledge base of

> resources. If I wasn't in TRIO and I didn't know those counselors, I would have never known about those scholarships, right? But let's say I'm not in TRIO and I found out about the scholarships. Maybe I'm writing them by myself and they're good, but they're not as good as they could be because I don't have that support. You know what I mean? So, it's kind of like having the knowledge and the knowhow to look for scholarships and support – and know that there's money out there. But also knowing how to write. Without that, I think I would never have got any of those scholarships.

Jonathan's comments consider the unique positioning of TRIO as a significant source of specialized support. TRIO can serve as the impetus to fine-tune skills for participants like Jonathan who otherwise would not receive the same degree of attention. It is important to note that Jonathan's success was not solely achieved because TRIO financially funded the opportunity to go abroad, rather it was the result of their efforts to instill a belief in his abilities and guidance based on his circumstances. TRIO did not require investing financial capital in the form of scholarships and grants to ensure student success, instead they fostered agentic learning aimed at building participant awareness, capacity, and individual power.

Oftentimes, participants executed a degree of financial mobilization that extended beyond their individual needs. Featured in the first section of this chapter, Lesley, a wife and mother of three boys, had to strategically consider how studying abroad would affect

her family. Study abroad literature rarely discusses the steps required to actualize study abroad. It was up to Lesley to apply for scholarships, not only for herself, but also for her children.

> TRIO students are lower income. And I actually meet all three criteria. First gen, low income, and a student with a disability. So, I was trying to find things that were affordable that we could make happen while I was gone. They [Lesley's children] were definitely not going to be able to go to overnight camps because that was totally out of the budget. It was more like 'here's a day camp. Oh, this one is like really cheap so let's look into that.'

Lesley emphasizes the complexity involved in mobilizing the resources to go abroad. By using Excel spreadsheets, she was able to organize her three boys' time using three different sections that outlined their weekly schedules. "It was like hours of just finding local organizations that had camps that had either sliding scale fees or scholarship applications for them as well." Lesley also received several scholarships that helped supplement her COE study abroad experience to the Netherlands. Lesley had to execute a complicated strategy to ensure her family's care while she was gone while also working towards achieving her financial goal to study abroad. Dominant discourses in literature fail to highlight the oftentimes elaborate planning and complex circumstances students have to navigate that far extends beyond financing study abroad. Furthermore, outside of the limited scholarship on nontraditional-aged students who study abroad (Clothey, 2016;

Malveaux & Raby, 2019; Stroud, 2010), little is known about the experiences of student-parents who study abroad.

Liz used her familial, community, and social media networks to financially mobilize in preparation for study abroad. Highlighted in the previous section, Liz studied abroad with COE in 2016 while she was a student at a four-year university in Utah. Liz explained that she was "embarrassed asking about money." Working two jobs as an undergraduate, she knew she did not have the money to pay for study abroad herself but explained that once she opened herself up to her community, she began to explore opportunities to mobilize.

> It's surprising and it's a beautiful thing to see, you know, so many people coming together and wanting to help out. And of course, that's not the truth for everybody. But for me, it was just saying it out loud and being courageous enough to ask for help or to ask any questions.

Liz explained that her and her family held brainstorming sessions that led to several efforts including incorporating her mother's "incredible" cooking by selling her mother's food to the community. Through a GoFundMe page, Liz was able to raise funds from "close friends and mentors who were just incredible and willing to help out." Additionally, Liz attained scholarships, and TRIO sponsored a portion of her trip.

> Financially, it was a little bit of everything. We got creative with it. So, you know, I felt that support not only from my family and friends, but really mentors or even

> people that also studied abroad. They said that they wanted to just help because, you know, they, they loved their experience. And I feel like that was really special because it was really a community effort.

The overwhelming support that Liz received is demonstrative of the cultural registry that she enacted to include her family, friends, and other community networks. Similarly, the following accounts of Nhung, Brilianny, and Letricia stress the importance of community and family in executing their financial mobilization.

Nhung, highlighted in the previous chapter, is a native of Vietnam and studied abroad as a community college student in Michigan. Worried about the financial burden of study abroad, Nhung said "the TRIO department told me, 'Hey, your mom cooks so well. Why don't you start selling food here?' So, we start to make eggroll and dumpling and selling at school." One way to interpret this statement is to consider this as an instance of cultural essentialism. Alternatively, this statement can also be interpreted as a reflection of the ability within TRIO programs and among TRIO administrators to identify and be attuned to the cultural registries that students can draw from and how they can navigate, cope with, and challenge the structural circumstances that might keep them from going abroad. I argue that the latter interpretation speaks to the whole of participant narratives that frame TRIO as an intentional program that is attentive and attuned to students' cultural differences rather than a reliance on cultural assumptions. TRIO programs execute efforts in higher education to intervene and disrupt institutional

hegemony that magnifies participant feelings of alienation, exclusion, and disempowerment. Cultural essentialism is in direct contrast to these efforts and participant narratives of empowerment and collective family engagement.

Nhung appreciatively conveys that her father even offered to work overtime on the weekends to help ease costs. Nhung recounts that a woman she worked with gave up working a shift so Nhung could work more hours prior to studying abroad. Subsequently, Nhung was able to fund the entirety of her study abroad. “I got a lot of help from really beautiful people who really helped me, to help me have that trip. It’s a memory for me.” Coinciding with Nhung’s narrative, Letricia also describes financial mobilization through similar means. Letricia, a California native who studied and interned abroad with COE in 2004 and 2005, respectively, utilized her dad’s bar to promote her experience abroad. Letricia emphasized that although she comes from a big family, no one had ever gone abroad. “People wanted to help and thought it was a great opportunity” because “none of them did anything like that.” Brilianny, a Dominican American student who attended university in New Jersey, spoke to her TRIO advisor about funding her COE study abroad experience. The TRIO director helped Brilianny write letters to several departments on campus that could potentially help contribute funds, and Brilianny emphasizes “we sold a lot of cupcakes.” Brilianny laughs, “but we made it possible, I had a lot of help from my fellow classmates.” Brilianny also received two major scholarships to offset costs. Financial mobilization efforts came in various forms of resources.

Participants engaged in additional labor. TRIO programs developed targeted and culturally attuned outreach. Furthermore, TRIO advisors took steps to build relationships with students, which garnered the trust that students needed to accept their encouragement to consider the possibility of studying abroad and build a praxis that allowed them to participate. This labor is pivotal for TRIO students to be able to go abroad. Thus, this study finds that the path to study abroad for this population stands in contrast to dominant depictions of study abroad participation.

Participant narratives of the labor needed to go abroad counter the deficit paradigm that categorizes marginalized students as lacking the financial capital to go abroad and accepting of the obstructions in their way. Deficit paradigms employed in study abroad scholarship and institutional policies ignore the structural barriers associated with studying abroad and the labor that students and administrators must engage in to enable study abroad participation among students from marginalized groups. Gross assumptions about participants' lack of interest, lack of cultural capital, and lack of financial capital are manipulated and reproduced in institutions to ignore the larger economic reality caused by structural systems and hegemonic mobility regimes. When institutions adopt deficit-based thinking and practices, "they validate a narrow habit of life while marginalizing those who see, work, and live differently" (Gonzales, 2012, p. 128). Participant realities of labor challenge traditional pathways to study abroad by highlighting the robust cultural registries that they, their families, and communities enact

to ensure international mobility. These divergent paths can lead practitioners in the field of international education to demand change from a system that is unfair and unjust rather than demand change from individuals that the field has historically marginalized.

This section underscores the power of Jonathan, Lesley, Liz, Nhung, Letricia, and Brilianny's agency, their strategies to mobilize, and the cultural registries they pulled from that contributed to their success. Further, participant narratives amplify the importance of the family collective, as "families pool their knowledge, skills, and resources, provide mutual support, form alliances, and work together to secure what they cannot accomplish on their own" (Bandura et al., 2011, p. 422). Said differently, families can work alongside participants to collectively cultivate and pull strategies from existing cultural registries. Through understanding how families work interdependently, study abroad and other higher education professionals can look to include families in study abroad recruitment and funding practices. The funding practices reflected on in this section include mobilizing networks, complex and strategic fundraising, scholarship applications, and event planning. These practices stand in sharp contrast to the funding practices in dominant representations of study abroad funding, which forwards notions of parents as funders for all or some of the costs for their children. Conversely, participant narratives in this study show families as contributors to financial mobilization efforts as opposed to passive funders. By conceptualizing families as active contributors to participants' mobility abroad, scholars and practitioners can better understand the role,

impact, and salience of the family collective, especially as a mechanism to financially mobilize. Such an approach can also help illuminate the otherwise opaque relations between financial constraints, cultural registries, mobility, and study abroad.

While students' mobilization alone may not subvert the systems that produce their oppression, their mobilization stands against these systems and resists the notion that their mobility is impossible. TRIO programs highlighted by participants, held a disruptive power that ignited mobilization among students and their networks. These forms of mobilization are mechanisms by which students enact resistance and build future struggles against their immobility. Participant narratives signal that TRIO programs and its administrators acknowledge that there are hegemonic principles that flow down from higher education and international education programs to isolate marginalized students from fitting 'the ideal' student who goes abroad. By acknowledging structural, intergenerational, and historical barriers, TRIO can act as a catalyst for the mobilization of marginalized student groups. This is in direct contrast with market-based logics of study abroad that dismiss students from race-class subjugated groups as unworthy of investment. Further, financial mobilization is a means by which students aspire to and struggle in the pursuit of more than survival.

An educational mobility justice framework must consider the responsibilities participants of study abroad have to carry out and the strategies they execute in order to see study abroad through. These obligations may shed light on why participants do not

study abroad. Notably, they may not have the time, supportive networks, or material means to participate. Moreover, their narratives contribute to a deeper and more critical understanding of how first generation, low-income minoritized students confront institutional racism, classism, and other forms of oppression. Their narratives may also shed light on the challenges that students may face in the absence of TRIO to support them through the process. Financial mobilization is more than simply fundraising money to go abroad. Participants are required to strategically and efficiently glean diverse resources from their cultural registries to assure they move from the possibility of studying abroad to realizing their mobility imaginaries. Examples of participants maximizing their cultural registries including holding a campus concert, engaging family members to cook and sell food, undertaking additional hours at work, coordinating responsibilities at home, and relentlessly searching for and completing scholarship applications. By mobilizing their cultural registries, possibilities of mobility were solidified. This speaks to the collective strength of families, academic networks, peers, and the individual agency of participants. The following section explores participant narratives of mobility and the impacts that manifest in a broadening of possibilities prior to, during, and after study abroad.

Mobile Possibilities

In this section I examine the connection between study abroad and possibility.[21] Underpinning participants' capacity to become aware of, explore, and enact possibilities is a range of phenomena, including resilience, that leads to agency, a reclamation of their imagination, and wonderment that leads them to future possibilities. Although the structures that bound their mobility and mobility imaginaries still exist, their agency enabled them to reimagine based on their current circumstances and future orientations. Participants in this study experienced their mobility abroad as an engine of possibility with respect to the expansion of their children and parent's mobility imaginaries, their academic pursuits post-studying abroad, reflections on their lives outside of the structural constraints that they were so used to, and their decisions to act as an agent in the lives of students with similar backgrounds.

Recounting the impact of study abroad on her life as a mother and nontraditional student, Lesley refers to instances where she presented on panels to discuss study abroad with students with similar backgrounds.

> I think the best takeaway that I've told anyone is that, you might not think something is possible, but it can be. You just need to actually try, because as first-generation students and even low-income, I think we tend to generally just shut

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[21] I am guided by Glăveanu's (2020) definition of possibility as "the process of becoming aware of and exploring an expanded field of alternatives for our thinking and action, and exploring it" (p. ix).

> off the option entirely and say it's not possible. I don't have the money or the resources or anything like that. And you just eliminate that entirely.

Referring to the material constraints that impact students like her, Lesley recognizes that there are structures that threaten one's ability to imagine travel. Further, her reflection was one that transcended simply studying abroad – *possibility* was a notion for all facets of life. She continued, "I think my biggest obstacle was figuring out what I was going to do with my kids and thinking that, well, it's just not even going to be possible." The responsibilities that Lesley handled on a daily basis did not go away once she applied. She described those responsibilities as hers to "figure it out" and commit to as "something that was possible." Lesley's story of her grandfather, Nitsu, and the intergenerational impact his experiences had on her life were such that it made her work hard to create a different trajectory for her children. Lesley continued, "Even with my kids, I tell them, you might think you can't do something, but if you really want to do it, you need to at least try and see what happens." Lesley's narrative reflects a benefit of study abroad that has never been highlighted in scholarship. Beyond the benefits of intercultural development, career impacts, or global citizenship often touted in study abroad literature, Lesley's experience abroad led to a shift in position that expanded her horizon of possibility. This impact is not an individualistic benefit, rather one that directly impacts her children and their life trajectories.

Liz, from earlier in this chapter, gestured toward the dialectical relationship between possibility and mobility. Mobility produced possibility, which, in turn, led to increased mobility. Liz was born in Mexico but moved to Utah as a toddler. In conversation with Liz about the benefits of her study abroad experience, she explained that "it really pushed me outside of my comfort zone. If it wasn't for that, I definitely wouldn't have taken the leaps to choose a master's program out-of-state and still live in Colorado." Liz also talked about the effect study abroad had on her mom, saying that "it made her feel less worried when I travel and when I first moved to Colorado, it eased her mind." The impacts of possibility from her study abroad experience extended to her mother as she was more open to imagining an alternative to Liz's educational mobility.

> This is why it is so important to have these experiences for other individuals so that, you know it can manifest other individuals to push, you know out of their comfort zones and to know that it is a possibility. Especially for individuals that grow up low-income, students who have disabilities. Especially first-generation students.

In this narrative, Liz signals that one person's experience with study abroad can have lasting impacts on another person's imaginative travel and mobility imaginaries, particularly for students at the periphery. Similarly, Megan expressed that study abroad expanded the scope of possibilities of her mobility following her study abroad experience. Megan, a study abroad participant in Liverpool who now works for a Federal

exchange program, explained that "I grew up, and my whole family is in southern California. No one has ever left." Prior to studying abroad, her ability to imagine leaving a place where no one has ever left before was near impossible.

> I don't think I would have ever considered living in Washington, D.C. or outside of Southern California had I not had a study abroad experience. I mean, if it wasn't for Liverpool, I wouldn't have gone to Peace Corps. I wouldn't have first interacted with U.S. government alumni and even knew that these exchange programs even happen. I wouldn't have met my wife. I wouldn't have moved to Washington, D.C. I mean, all these things are just, they're just like one degree separated from that very first instance of going overseas and saying, you know, it's possible, why not give it a try?

Megan stated that because she became aware of possibilities post-study abroad, she was able to further explore and enact a mobility imaginary beyond the limits of her home, a benefit that is contrary to the oft-mentioned benefits (i.e., linguistic, career, cultural, etc.) of study abroad. Study abroad participation broadened the limits of Megan's mobility imaginary, allowing her to entertain possibilities of movement beyond her country, state, and region, and beyond her interpersonal circles. Megan's COE study abroad participation changed her conception of self in ways that impacted her interpersonal relationships and movement across spaces.

Comparably, in a focus group with Zaw, currently a doctoral student studying architecture, he talked about possibility in relation to his migration and university transfer experience. Immigrating to the U.S. from Burma during high school, Zaw studied abroad with COE in 2009 through his community college. Taking place four years after his move to the U.S., he believes that the biggest benefit he received from studying abroad was "a confidence boost. Being like the immigrant, a fresh immigrant from a different country and then like trying to acclimate to the education system here was difficult." He continues to explain that "it gave me the possibility to transfer to Howard at a time when I really needed, because I had no idea what it's going to be like at a four-year university." Navigating a country without knowing the language and transferring to a Historically Black College and University (HBCU) were both experiences that required notions of possibility. He went on to explain that transferring to and attending an HBCU was important to his mobility and identity.

> In Burma, I was considered as a second-class citizen because my grandparents, and my grandparents are from China. So, we were never considered as a Burmese, we were considered as Chinese kids. And so, I have that perspective of being the minority and then kind of acclimating to life in that sense… When I asked at my college, they said that I'm the only Asian in the past five years. I think my experiences really helped me put myself into that different perspective.

Guiding Zaw's mobility imaginary was a sense of possibility that gave him the confidence to pursue his academic transition to Howard. Zaw's experience abroad opened up a new range of possibilities that, in the absence of mobility abroad, he may not have contemplated. Further, points of mobility, ethnoracial tensions, and migration were all part of his story toward encountering and acting on these mobile possibilities.

In Chapter Four, Elisa talked about her inability to dream, stating that from an early age, "you've learned not to dream." Her response prompted me to ask her about the greatest benefit she experienced from studying abroad. Elisa explained, "It helps with your self-esteem." She went on to recount that when she went abroad, she felt as through people respected and admired her for participating in that experience. As result, she explained that "the seed was planted, the seed of me saying, I can do this, I can do it again, I can move forward." The freedom in Elisa's words could be felt. The liberation that she emanated could be seen. Her demeanor changed, and her words became more pronounced during the interview. Elisa's narrative clearly underlines that her experience abroad opened up subsequent opportunities due to a change in view toward what was within the scope of her possibility. Said differently, Elisa was broadening the scope of her possibility.

> This is not it, the kind of life I had with my parents, my family, this is not it. I have an alternative, I can break the cycle, I can move forward, I can go to school, I am smart, I am valuable, I'm worth it. I think that's the power and the

> motivation, the inspiration that you get from studying abroad. Also, because the people that help you though all the processes as you go through these spaces. They see you, that you have potential. This experience allows you to dream. Because before then, I just couldn't dream of it. I didn't know it was possible, that it existed.

Elisa's message of possibility is a powerful one that signals the influence that agents of change have in helping cultivate agency in individuals who have not imagined an alternative. The power to imagine was lost due to the "trauma" that Elisa experienced from the structures that shaped her lived experiences, her family, or the abusive relationship she endured. Elisa developed the capacity to conceive an alternative perspective-expanding agency and imagination while also considering her past. Elisa's past was dominated by those who told her not to dream. When Elisa told her mother that she was going to study abroad, her mother said, "Estás loca, eso no es cierto. Eso no va a pasar." Translated in English, her mom said, "You're crazy, that's not true. It's not going to happen." In the end, the act of studying abroad revealed to Elisa the realm of the actual and the realm of the possible. The absence of imaginative travel is a collective and familial phenomenon. Generating alternative imaginaries entails resisting these discursive barriers, which are not just the result of individual psychological constructions, but rather, social group experiences.

Lizbeth, introduced in the previous chapter, worked as a Senior Advisor for international education at a four-year institution in Nevada at the time of our interview. I asked Lizbeth to talk about the most beneficial aspects of her study abroad experience.

> I think the two biggest takeaways for me is understanding that it's possible, you know, capability is bigger than we think. And second, something I always say about my travels is that I've learned to be a lot more resourceful, which is a big thing. And I've noticed that in people who travel, for whatever reason, but the path to panic is a lot longer.

Emerging from Lizbeth's narrative is an expanded horizon of possibility, capability, and resourcefulness that was a result of her mobile experience. The benefit she highlighted was an ability to conceive possibility beyond the material circumstances she articulated in Chapter Four. Lizbeth explained that in her current professional position, she participated in outreach activities to speak to community college students about international opportunities. Describing what it feels like when she speaks to these students, she said, "Oh my God, it's a bunch of little me(s)," describing them as "Hispanic young kids" who felt like they shouldn't be in that room.

> I tell them that if this is something that they're interested in, to not remove it as a possibility for themselves before they ask any questions. That's what happens all the time, these kids, they think 'I'm not, you know, the most common student that studies abroad like the Caucasian female, I'm not that girl.' I try to intervene. I try

> to just walk into rooms and remind people that it's definitely possible. You know, lot of parents, in the materialism phase, something like this is excessive and unnecessary, because they think it's just taking a plane ride for not a big outcome. But, as you know, the outcome is so layered and so long lasting that the investment is something that they don't even understand.

Referring to the material constraints that she elaborated on in Chapter Four, Lizbeth understands the parallels between the structures that bound her imagination and the class struggle that binds the students she works with. Moreover, studying abroad created a sense of possibility that fueled Lizbeth's desire to act as an agent in the lives of students with backgrounds similar to her own. In countering universalist assumptions about study abroad, Lizbeth stressed the importance of representation. "I don't have to do anything other than show up, because I think showing up lets them know, ok, so this looks different than what I thought, or can look different than what I thought." Eliciting possibility simply by showing up is powerful and points to important implications for the field. In this way, I argue that principles of an educational mobility justice framework should recognize the importance of representation as a form of resisting structural constraints and oppressive mobility regimes. Furthermore, Lizbeth's experience speaks to the far-reaching consequences of the experiences of mobility on these participants. The benefits of study abroad, for students from these groups, are not solely experienced at the individual level.

Terry, a Puerto Rican native, pinpoints the exact moment he realized the impact of study abroad on his life and explained that at that time he was sitting in his dormitory in Salamanca, Spain. With an embarrassed laugh he says "¡Ay Dios mío"! Translated in English as, "Oh Lord"! He explained that when he was staying in hotels during study abroad, "Yo regularmente cogía toallas y las guardaba," translated in English as, "I regularly took the towels and put them away. This was an impactful moment because someone in the program told him not to take the towels and if he needed anything all he had to do was ask.

> Y ahí yo decía, es cierto, uno tiene que aprender a romper con ese tipo de cosas y me costó mucho trabajo, pero a veces fue el hambre, la necesidad. Cuando tú no tienes recursos te hacen comer, no sabes si esta última comida. Esa vivencia de alguna manera y otra, verdad? Hay personas que quizás lo trauma, es sólo una posibilidad. Hay personas como a mí, que me inspiran verdad, para ser mejor persona y para trabajar, para que otras personas no necesariamente atraviesan por lo mismo. Pero si, eso en el dormitorio me hizo reflexionar mucho acerca de la independencia y las posibilidades que tengo para alcanzar lo que sea.
>
> English Translation: And there, I said, it's true, you have to learn to break with that kind of thing and it took me a lot of work, but sometimes it was the hunger, the need. When you don't have resources to eat, what for you, might be your last meal, that is a lived experience in one form or another, right? There are people

> who may be traumatized by these experiences, that's a possibility. There are other people, like me, who become inspired, right, to be a better person, and to work, so that other people do not necessarily go through the same thing. But yes, in that dormitory it made me reflect a lot about independence and the possibilities I have to achieve anything.

Illuminated in Terry's story is not only his ability to reflect on the possibilities that exist beyond the material circumstances that he faced on a day-to-day basis. This narrative also highlights the ways in which structural constraints manifest while abroad. Navigating study abroad also meant that he had to confront complexities shaped by structural dynamics that did not simply disappear once he crossed a border. Terry's experience of mobility placed him in a position to contemplate the means by which he sought to secure his survival. In his dormitory, he realized that his presence abroad signaled his ability to travel autonomously and take up space, to achieve forms of independence. Sitting in his dormitory looking out his window in Salamanca, Spain, he said, "¡Wow! Hasta dónde yo he llegado. Yo nunca [me hubiese] imaginado que un Negro como yo, por ejemplo, y pobre, estuviese en Salamanca, algo tan sencillo, ¿verdad?" Translated in English, he said, "Wow! Where I managed to get to. I would have never imagined that a Black man like me for example, and poor, would be in Salamanca, something so simple, right?" These complexities were etched into the fabric of Terry's lived experiences while abroad.

Structures were such that an experience like his, one that seems so simple, was hard for him to even comprehend as possible.

The narratives examined in this section emphasize that mobility abroad has a dialectical relationship with possibility. Through their study abroad experiences, participant narratives of mobility demonstrate impacts that manifest in a broadening of possibilities. Moreover, a recurrent theme in in this chapter is the spill-over of these benefits, and that this spillover is not just something that happens by chance. Instead, in many cases, participants disrupt structures for others by drawing from their own experiences of mobility and reimagination to fulfill the role in the lives of others that TRIO programs and administrators had in their lives. The following section will examine participants' relationships with social time at the intersection of age, sexuality, class, nationality, and immigration, extending knowledge of how possibility and subjectivity emerge in space.

Reappropriating Time

What influences a participants' sense of time while abroad? Massey (1994) counters notions that capitalism and its developments (i.e., time, space, and money make the world go round) are the sole determinant of our understanding and experiences of space. Instead, Massey argues that there are other influences that impact our sense of time, space, and place, including gender, race, and other social relations. May and Thrift (2003) conceptualize the experience of social time as both multiple and dynamic, "the

means by which a particular sense of time comes into being and moves forward to frame our understandings and actions" (p. 3). Informed by Massey's (1994) conceptualization of a sense of place and May and Thrift's (2003) understanding of social time, I find that participants develop a sense of *temporal awakening* while abroad. I define temporal awakening as a shift in a participants' state of existing within and/or having a relationship with time that was not previously existent. Temporal awakenings during or after study abroad oftentimes disrupt hegemonic ideations of social time, such as the prioritizing of neoliberal modes of labor and production. In other words, I find that study abroad presents participants with an opportunity to reallocate value to time in a way that is at odds with hegemonic constructs including but not limited to ageism, nationalism, heteronormative experiences, and a neoliberal market evaluation of time.

Throughout the course of their study abroad, participants experienced temporal awakenings that empowered them to re-appropriate time that had been destined and assigned based on participant age, nationality, sexuality, production and work, and immigration. By disrupting these notions of time, participants call into question the norms that have shaped and continue to shape their lived experiences. In a sense, students are reappropriating their time, realizing that they can allocate time to processes of social reproduction (i.e., self-care, family, to imagine new ways of being, new paths to take, and developing new energies that they like to embrace and cultivate). In this regard, study

abroad for these communities is experienced in remarkably different ways than depicted in dominant literature.

A temporal awakening. In exploring the emerging themes of time and temporality, I consider the ways that time, temporality, and their effects were invoked throughout my interviews with participants. For instance, Vickie studied abroad with COE in Spain through her community college at the age of 67 years old. A mother of nine children, Vickie reflects on study abroad at the intersection of time and age. When Vickie applied to study abroad, she admitted, “I'm a non-traditional student, so I wasn't sure if I'd even be accepted. But I was it…” Vickie’s voice cracks, taking a moment to regroup, she continued, “I don't want to cry. But it changed my life.” Informed by the universalist notion of the traditional aged student who typically goes abroad, Vickie doubted that she would even be considered for such an opportunity at her age. She continues to discuss the relationship between time, age, and actualizing the benefits of study abroad.

> I think my gifts and talents have been in me since I was born. But I think I would have used them differently because of studying abroad had I done it 30 years earlier. So, I would have loved having that opportunity. I think I could have become a senator or somebody really powerful because I am a voice. And had I learned those things earlier; I would have used them in my daily life. And I did. I mean, I have ever since I've been there. But I would have loved the opportunity to

> have youth on my side. It does make a difference. So, I would strongly suggest people just go for it when they're young.

Vickie's temporal awakening caused her to confront her age and state of being, one where half of her life was already spoken for. This could have been a daunting realization but she shifts perspectives in an effort to transcend boundaries posed by age at the intersection of time.

> I finished my master's degree this spring and now because I'm older and I don't have to go climb up a corporate ladder – I don't have to be afraid of being fired. But I can be a voice. And that's truly what I want. And I learned that gentle voice, from the people in Salamanca.

Vickie's temporal awakening saturates her experience productively despite previously acknowledging youth as a powerful catalyst for change. Reflecting further on time, Vickie drew attention to health and national identity. "I learned so much from just living in Salamanca, Spain, walking those streets up and down inclines. I thought at first I would have a heart attack!" We both laugh. Vickie excitedly says, "I lost like 20 lbs."

> You get used to it and you felt so empowered and so healthy. And at eleven or twelve o'clock at night, you'd go out and you'd see 90-year-old couples, arm in arm, walking like this. They swayed together up and down the streets, or at 2:00 in the morning you'd be walking through some of the streets and there'd be young couples with their children playing guitars and dancing. And that really made me

> realize that in America we're missing out on some stuff because we're not taking time to really cherish every moment we have… When I came back from Spain, I wanted to walk the same way I did. But we don't have any, you know, inclines and the busyness of the world really bothered me at first. The busyness of my community and the lack of interest in each other was quite painful for me.

Time featured heavily in her references of leisure, health, exercise, nationality, and her newfound value embedded in the speed of time. Challenging Vickie's temporal awakening are hegemonic constructs of time in America. In her narrative, Vickie gestured to constructs of the speed of capitalism, labor, and other temporalities in America as a direct contrast to her ability to slow down in Spain. Vickie expressed discomfort when she returned to Minnesota as she negotiated this disjuncture. In response to this "painful" feeling, Vickie seized the effects of this temporal awakening to exercise her autonomy. Vickie explained that she has been a chaplain for 20 years and described a moment while abroad that changed her trajectory as a chaplain.

> In school, I have seen that the GBLTQI community is forgotten and they've gotten excommunicated from their churches, but they still love God. So, I want to start a program that will actually make them the center in their faith and allow them to die in the way they want to die. So, to me, my studying abroad enhanced all of that for me. Sitting in those huge Catholic churches, the youngest was five hundred years old, and sitting there knowing that people that were straight, people

that were gay, people that were Black, white, Asian sat in the same pew I sat in. And the presence of God there, which you could never deny.

By reflecting on the past, evaluating her time, and reappropriating it toward something meaningful, Vickie changed the course of her career as a chaplain to focus on a population most often at the margins of religion. As a result of study abroad, Vickie was able to seek ways abroad to develop a healthier lifestyle and new humanistic values that drove her to allocate time to the enactment of solidarity with marginalized groups such as the creation of a new ministry of LGBTQ people. Throughout these processes she was reclaiming time that society has earmarked for youth and which market logics had already allocated to economic production.

"Solo vives una vez.[22]" A son of Vietnam refugees, Long explained that since he was the first generation to be born in America, he had a lot of pressure from his parents to obtain an engineering degree. He stressed, "College was an opportunity for me to get out of poverty." In 2013, as a community college student in the state of Washington, he studied abroad with COE in Spain. During the interview with Long, he continuously acknowledged that studying abroad impacted his narrative. "It allows you to disconnect from what societal pressures has put on you and allows you to create your own

[22] Solo vives una vez is translated in English as, you only live once (YOLO). The acronym of YOLO has been ascribed as a popular slang term in 2012 to live life to its fullest extent.

narrative." Emerging from this was a temporal awakening which shifted his narrative and values at the intersection of identity. Reminiscing about his life prior to study abroad, he said, "I was always chasing something, you know. I would definitely forget the now." Long emphasizes the word *now*.

> I remember always declining so many offers to hang out with friends and opportunities to I don't know how to say it, just to network or, you know, I was just so focused on the chase and the grind that I forget about the now. And I don't know if that is too spiritual or too deep but I just want people to really be cautious of what we can do now. You know, yeah, sometimes things suck, your situation. Yeah, you live in the hood – but at the same time, what can you do now?

Pressures of allocating time to school to break out of poverty, to become an engineer, and to leave the "hood" distracted him from the "now." A capitalist culture of hyper-productivity, or as Long described it, "the chase and the grind," promotes hegemonic understandings of work-based success; a success driven by a form of production that exploits a person's value and time. Long explained that when he arrived in Spain, it allowed him to "step out of his comfort zone" and "be who I want to be." By reclaiming time as his own he was able to exist and embody a space that countered the pressures he had back home.

> I even came out over there. You know, to be my authentic self. It's like nobody knows me over here. And I can be whoever I want to be, you know, it made me

> feel like I can survive in another place as an individual and be independent. So, it exceeded my expectations and being able to just live authentically. I mentioned coming out on our trip like, I felt like that was something I couldn't do back in the U.S., especially around traditional families. And so, it was kind of a test to see if this was something I could do. And so, I don't know, it felt empowering just to be able to make those decisions for myself.

Taking control of his time allowed him explore his identity, to come out in a space that was safe and not overshadowed by the burdens he faced back home. Long's narrative signals that temporal awakenings while abroad can serve as a mechanism to counter ideological tools of capitalism and homogenized assumptions about who studies abroad. Long made it a point to tell me, "I also got a tattoo after Spain." He began laughing and said, "I don't know if that was the best idea, but it says "solo vives una vez" translated in English, "you only live once." He smiled, "During that time YOLO was a big thing" He couldn't finish the sentence without laughing and said, "It sounds better in Spanish." We started laughing together and he continued, "You only live in the now." Under the YOLO proposition, Long was able to reappropriate time and space while outside of the social and familial structures that obliged him to conform.

Reclaiming time. Elaborating on his life back home in California, Eros articulated the relationship between his family, money, and his experience abroad. "I tried to get on my dad's good side a lot, he was always like an angry person because he

has high expectations." Referring to his family, he said, "They did not support me at all with going to study abroad because my dad, it's always about money to him. My dad has been stuck with this mentality that its always money, money, money." Structural binds such as class oftentimes motivate parents who have struggled economically to resist the intergenerational transmission of poverty by pushing their children to achieve more than they ever could. His reflection on money caused him to juxtapose the pace and interactions in Spain to the quality of life back in the U.S.

> The environment is very different because I'm used to more hostile neighborhoods where people are rude to each other. People were not always open minded. But in Spain, it was the opposite. People were just more friendly. People were more open minded. They really prioritized, not so much about work, like stress out because you have to work so hard –straight one hundred percent. It was more like, enjoying your time with your family, your loved ones, your friends. There is more of a focus on the present, not to dwell on the past and worry too much about the future.

Throughout his narrative, Eros signaled that he was accustomed to living in an environment with profound class inequalities. Oftentimes these inequalities create environments of mistrust due to labor competition, forms of ethnoracial discrimination, and other histories of oppression. When confronted with an environment that demonstrated time and space differently, his temporal awakening caused a shift in

perspective. By reappropriating time and treasure, Eros shifted his narrative to one of "quality over quantity." He went on to say that "I stopped worrying about money." Eros boldly said, "I learned some important life lessons in Spain…as long as you're happy, then you can thrive." Eros' narrative denotes the entanglement of time as implicated in today's world of competitive neoliberalism. Through his experience, he was exposed to interactions, observations, and time contrary to experiences embedded in U.S. national understandings of hyper-productivity, over exhaustion, and extractivism, particularly in the context of their mobile histories.

Temporal and spatial nostalgia. Revisiting Brilianny's interview, her temporal awakening was guided by her sense of nostalgia (i.e., a longing for happy memories of the past). Brilianny spent her most formative years in the Dominican Republic and frequently visits her dad who now lives in Puerto Rico. Her study abroad experience in Spain prompted her to think about her past and how values of time and space aligned. Brilianny refers to the U.S. as "a rushing environment" and Spain as "family-oriented, which I really like because it correlates with the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico." Feelings of nostalgia are oftentimes triggered by being disconnected from one's homeland in both space and time (Smeekes & Jetten, 2019). In Brilianny's case, nostalgia was triggered by feelings of connection between her study abroad host country and her homeland.

> It was it was very nice and made me remember, we don't need to be in a rush all the time. Go to the park with family members, your loved ones, or whatever.

> There's always time, you can always make time to enjoy life basically!...I definitely like took more time aside to like spend time with my family and tell them, we are going to sit and eat together. I stopped being in a rush.

Rather than assimilating to the pace of life in the U.S., Brilianny's experiences abroad reminded her that she can reclaim time even while living in a space that didn't embrace those same values. Similarly, feelings of nostalgia and longing were an effect of Nhung's temporal awakening while studying abroad in the Netherlands. In reference to her experience in Netherlands she gently said, "I love it there because I feel like I belong to it, because it's like my Vietnam country." In the Netherlands, "people are so friendly, they are outside together, hang out, help each other." These experiences abroad significantly contrasted to her experiences as an immigrant in the U.S.

> It's not like here. People just know themselves. After work they go home, close door, don't talk anyone else. But in Vietnam, I would just go to the neighbor's house to talk to each other. Drink coffee together. Sometimes, if they have dinner they say, hey come eat with us! They don't here. If they don't know each other, they don't even look at you or smile at you.

Nhung started laughing, "I miss Vietnam now, I miss my country." Feelings of social exclusion in space and time led to Nhung's complex sense of nostalgia between the study abroad host country in the Netherlands, the host society in the U.S., and her homeland of Vietnam. The educational mobility justice framework can be used by scholars and

practitioners in study abroad to consider the ways immigration experiences interact with time and space abroad. Further, it is important to consider the effects immigration experiences have on participants once they return to the U.S, in opening up or confirming certain knowledges about its sociopolitical conditions. In doing so, practitioners in the field can help facilitate the multifaceted emotions that participants navigate at the intersection of time, space, and nationality during and after their study abroad experience.

Studying abroad changes notions of temporality and space in ways that are profound for participants and gives them insights into limitations of life in the U.S. Through their study abroad experience, participants experience temporal awakenings that are shaped by social relations oftentimes embedded in hegemonic understandings of age, nationality, sexuality, class, and immigration. I suggest that study abroad can be a subversive experience as participants disrupt the normative design of study abroad by reclaiming time that was designed to create value and economic surplus. Disruption is not marketable as a benefit for study abroad. Whereby expanding your worldview or increasing your cultural competencies may happen as a result of studying abroad, reappropriating time and reimagining what can come out of these experiences can be profound and life changing. These findings can be used to extend conceptualizations of time and temporality at the intersection of various social relations including age, nationality, sexuality, production and work, and immigration. Moreover, participant

counternarratives suggest a line of inquiry into the significance of temporal awakenings on participants as they navigate their experience during and after study abroad.

Conclusion

This chapter calls attention to TRIO programs as the catalyst for disrupting hegemonic ideologies that impede participant mobility or imagination for travel. By shaping perceptions and practices in international education and scholarship, dominant discourses in the field have consequences for those subjected to it. Students at the periphery of study abroad (i.e., *the Other*) have been framed as deficient and blamed for low participation in study abroad while the problematic, ethnocentric, universalist, and market-oriented approaches to study abroad programming and recruitment are ignored. As a result of this deficit framing discourse, the perspectives, lived experiences, and voices of these students are suppressed in study abroad literature. This suppression motivates the need for work that centers the narratives of participants and seeks to build knowledge about study abroad in collaboration and consultation with participants. These narratives point to the different paths that this population must traverse to consider and fulfill the aspiration to study abroad. Higher education's inability to work outside of its exclusionary practices results in the framing of these students as deficient, unable to keep pace, and lacking resources to see opportunities through.

Participant narratives demonstrate TRIO as a window into understanding the potential and importance of social group targeted and culturally-attentive institutional

arrangements as mechanisms of educational mobility justice. Participant narratives showcase their agency and mobilization, which are necessary for their mobility. In this way TRIO programs represented in this study, function as influential actors in the lives of participants in that they operate with the mission to enable access to educational opportunities and to improve the status of vulnerable student populations. Participant narratives highlight how TRIO administrators enact a series of efforts aimed at disrupting both the dominant structures that have affected their ability to imagine travel and the hegemonic discourses that have them believe that travel and other opportunities are not possible for them. Accordingly, my findings lead me to rethink TRIO programs as distinct from other higher education programs, such that I refer to TRIO programs and programs like them as *possibility agencies*. In the context of higher education, possibility agencies are characterized by a set of commitments designed to critically empower participants by challenging and resisting structures of power in higher education settings. Possibility agencies can also serve as sites for the creation of new possibilities and identities for students. In this chapter, Lesley, Lorenzo, Liz, Elisa, and Megan provide narratives that distinguish TRIO administrators as vital facilitators as participants grappled with notions of immobility, possibilities of mobility, and mobility as a right regardless of their social group. Their narratives recognize TRIO administrators as *agents of possibility,* capable of establishing a unique trust amongst participants, leading them to embrace mobility imaginaries, and develop an emancipatory practice that allows them to

be mobile. As a result, the findings in this chapter affirm the importance of international education programs and study abroad offices building lasting relationships and partnerships with possibility agencies, like TRIO, as a means to deepen equity in study abroad opportunities and programs.

In this respect, the participants in this study highlight a vital connection between study abroad and possibility toward reimagining and realizing their mobility. Lesley, Liz, Megan, Zaw, Elisa, Lizbeth, and Terry reveal the complex ways in which possibility empowered them to conceive an alternative beyond their immediate circumstances despite the structures that have and continue to exist. Through this process, participants break with the idea of mobility under non-autonomous conditions (forced displacement, political violence, material constraints, and abusive relationships) and begin to develop, through their agency and guidance from possibility agencies, counter-hegemonic ideas and discourses. Possibility agencies like TRIO are thus mechanisms for change, disruption, and possibilities that extend far beyond the student. Participant narratives illustrate the spillover effects on families, peers, and community networks that occur as a result of the integrative efforts of possibility agencies. To be clear, I do not seek to provide an uncritical or homogenous view of the approximate eleven hundred TRIO programs funded by the Department of Education and the role they play in the lives of the students they serve. Rather, the understandings of TRIO stem from the narratives of participants in this study. While these findings are specific to low income, first-

generation, minoritized students from a limited sample of TRIO programs, they may yield insight into the role that TRIO and programs like it, may play as influential actors in higher education.

Implications for research suggests that higher education programs on campuses can strive to integrate and enact critical practices aimed at uncovering institutional hegemony that provides "structurally preferential treatment" for students from privileged social backgrounds (Robbins, 1993, p. 153). Programs in higher education can serve as possibility agencies by attending to the web of power relations inherent in higher education. Through these critical practices, agents of possibility, like TRIO administrators, can develop trusting relationships with participants as they facilitate construction of knowledge, skills, agency, and possibilities for ethnoracial and socioeconomically marginalized students within higher education. These relationships are crucial to reducing inequities in study abroad and diversifying it beyond white, middle-class females in undergraduate education, and programs built around them as the norm.

Moreover, this chapter presents financial mobilization as a form of agency that challenges deficit rhetoric embedded in institutional policies and study abroad literature. Jonathan, Lesley, Liz, Nhung, Letricia, and Brilianny showcase their ability to mobilize assets, resources, and strategies by leveraging their cultural registries that include their academic networks, community support, and personal skills and talents. Unlike the students that study abroad agencies are designed to recruit (i.e., those with the means to

study abroad), participants in this study are required to strategically and efficiently mobilize diverse resources from their cultural registries to assure they move from the possibility of studying abroad to realizing their mobility imaginaries. In this way, some scholars and practitioners may argue that these inequities can be confronted through affirmative action and redistributive programs that ameliorate the aforementioned burdens that fall disproportionately on students from race-class subjugated groups, while others see affirmative action as a short-term solution to broader systemic issues. Inasmuch as these challenges to educational mobility are manifestations of broader structural inequalities, achieving justice within the realm of study abroad must entail transformative struggles beyond it.

Letricia, a participant who studied abroad in Liverpool, pointed out in a discussion about fairness and study abroad that "we always say we want equality, but do you really want equality or do you want fairness? Because those two things are not always the same." In accordance with Letricia, I argue that although study abroad is equally available to all undergraduate students regardless of social group, study abroad programs and practitioners must take into account the implications of (un)fairness embedded in their everyday practices when advertising, recruiting, and advising students to study abroad.

Lastly, Vickie, Long, Eros, Brilianny, and Nhung confronted hegemonic notions of time and space by reappropriating and reclaiming time that had been destined and

assigned based on participant age, nationality, sexuality, production and work, and immigration status. Through temporal awakenings, participants experienced a shift in their relationship with time and space that was not otherwise realized. Additionally, temporal awakenings occurred once they return to life back in the U.S., and by extension, their places within social hierarchies there. This chapter rejects claims about the social and individual benefits of study abroad as it neglects the extent to which benefits extend to marginalized groups and the ways in which they experience them. In absence of a historical perspective of mobility grounded in participant stories of agency and emancipation, universalist assumptions about the benefits of study abroad will persist. Participant narratives illuminate that trajectories before, during, and after study abroad are completely different than the dominant discourse that persists in study abroad literature and practice. Study participants counter these discourses through a broader perspective of possibility agencies, financial mobilization, mobile possibilities, and reappropriation and reclaiming of time. Although their experiences do not match up to the dominant narrative of the universal benefits of study abroad, they extract benefits in remarkable ways.

Chapter Six

Narratives of Self: Navigating Identity Abroad

The preceding chapter discussed the institutional and agentic mechanisms by which participants gain mobility. This chapter calls attention to the complex ways in which participants make meaning of their experiences abroad. I seek to examine how these meaning-making processes that take place while participants are abroad shapes their identity and interactions with the systems and structures that have historically oppressed them. I am guided by the notion that identity, as Stuart Hall (2019) poignantly argues, "is always in part a narrative, always in part a kind of representation. It is always within representation. Identity is not something which is formed outside and then we tell stories about it. It is that which is narrated in one's own self" (p. 79). Similarly, Fraser (2013) argues that identity is discursively produced, malleable, and constantly shifting. Drawing on Hall and Fraser, this chapter highlights identity as a process that is never completed. Attending to the diversity of, rather than the universalist depictions of marginalized study abroad participants, amplifies the way in which identities of "gender, sexuality, class, and race refuse to coalesce around a single axis of differentiation" (Fraser, 2013, p. 57). An expanded view of subjectivity encompasses multiple aspects of individual identity, not fixed, but rather interconnected and co-forming (Hill Collins, 2019). In this way, systems of power affect those at the margins of society. I argue that participants in this study subvert subjectivized narrations of their identity that portray

them in terms of fixed identity categories. Participant counternarratives challenge dominant depictions of study abroad on the basis of the experiences of white, middle-class, traditional aged, cis gender females.

This chapter seeks to deepen the too often shallow and universalist interpretations of identity formation for minoritized first-generation, low-income students in international education scholarship and study abroad practices. Consequently, this chapter focuses on the ways students make meaning of structures and systems of domination and how these meaning-making processes shape the way participants navigate their identity abroad. Scholarship and study abroad programming have repeatedly ignored the specific challenges and complex negotiations students experience at the nexus of social group location before, during, and after they study abroad. Moreover, differentiated mobility and the structures in which they have bound their mobility are all but excluded in study abroad literature and program planning. Guided by an educational mobility justice framework, scholars in the field of international education and those who work directly with students must recognize that the exploration and navigation of identity abroad is complex, fluid, and shaped by the systems and structures that have historically oppressed them. Studying abroad is a process of social group formation, whereby participants go through processes of identity formation. These processes do not solely begin and end prior to studying abroad, but rather they are ongoing and continue to evolve during and after their study abroad experiences.

There is an expectation that, in going abroad, participants will experience a wide range of benefits that include second language acquisition, career development, and intercultural growth (Allen & Herron, 2003; Hammer et al., 2003; Isabelli-Garcia et al., 2018; Jon et al., 2018; Pedersen, 2009; Segalowitz et al., 2004). While student experiences often yield these benefits, their experience abroad is more complex than the transactional portrayal of study abroad as a means to accrue these benefits. While abroad, participants must also confront their own notions of self (Young, 1990). This self stands in contrast to the groups that they interact with. The self, as Young (1990) argues, arises from social processes – i.e., the self is comprised of "a person's particular sense of history, affinity, separateness, even the person's mode of reasoning, evaluating, and expressing feeling and constituted partly by their group affiliations" (p. 45). Going abroad becomes part of the processes of social group formation insofar as students experience and observe the difference and similarities between themselves and the social groups with which they interact. This chapter attends to my second research question, which examines how participants understand their study abroad experiences in relation to informing and giving meaning to their conceptions of self. I explore these processes primarily through the narratives and experiences of several focal participants, whose narratives unpack their lived experiences while abroad and at home post-study abroad. Findings reveal study abroad as engendering a process of rethinking membership, identity, and belonging for minoritized first-generation, low-income students (Lu et al.,

2015; Malcolm & Mendoza, 2014; Wick, 2011; Willis, 2015). Further, findings point to a critical political component of study abroad that cannot be separated from the embodiment of the racial and social identities of the students. In other words, study abroad for participants in this study can be (but is not always) as much a critical examination of nationalist ideologies of being American as it is an introduction to the Other or "to the world."

First, this chapter will highlight identity formation through participant narratives of self and their sense of identity abroad. The three sections that follow examine the different ways that participants narrate their experiences of self-abroad. First, as a Black Puerto Rican man in Spain, Terry speaks to the complexities of mobility, race, nationality, and class as he confronts racism abroad. Terry self-narrates while abroad by looking to his past as a source of strength to subvert experiences of racism. Next, Long, a Vietnamese gay man studying abroad in Spain, repudiates social group categorizations to reclaim a sense of control and agency over his own identity and narrative. Lastly, as a biracial queer woman in Liverpool, Megan considers her ability to "pass" in international spaces as agentic. I refer to a person's ability to pass as a "form of agency to conceive of, narrate, and establish the terms" by which a person is read and understood according to their self-authorship within a given social location (Williams, 2013, p. 303). This definition is in contrast to the negatively associated concept of passing as a misrepresentation or concealment of one's identity. These sections seek to make clear the

importance of meaning-making as processes that present opportunities for participants abroad to discursively deconstruct their identity, resist impositions of identity categories, and establish their identity in agentic ways. By problematizing static notions of homogenized identity in study abroad literature, this chapter brings much-needed attention to discursive means of subversion by participants abroad.

The second component of this chapter examines the ways Vickie, Akeya, Lorenzo, and Letricia understand and explore nationality and their sense of belonging during and after their experiences abroad. As a result of study abroad, participants in this section reported reflections on their U.S. national identity while abroad and began to question and reevaluate national membership, national belonging, and their position as rightful citizens. First, Vickie, a bi-racial and nontraditional-aged student, became challenged as she began to question notions of American exceptionalism while in Spain. Upon her return home, she grappled with a renewed definition of what it means to be American. Akeya, a Black woman studying abroad in Kenya, was surprised to be labeled an "American" rather than an African American by her local host community. On the margins of belonging in America, Akeya's estrangement as an American is the result of a history of white racial domination and suppression against Blacks in the United States. This suppression of her 'Americanness' led her to confront an identity she before never ascribed for herself: American. Study abroad can also engender deep feelings of affinity and a sense of belonging, as seen in Lorenzo's experiences in Spain. These feelings

emerge in direct contrast to those of exclusion that he feels in the U.S. Lastly, as a result of the exchanges with local communities abroad and their narratives of estrangement and lack of belonging and membership in Liverpool, Letricia was prompted to evaluate and reevaluate race relations in America. In highlighting these complexities, this chapter seeks to fill a gap in literature about the way nationality, racial identities, and feelings of exclusion manifest as participants process complex meanings of belonging while abroad.

In a larger narrative, this chapter illustrates for scholars and practitioners how taking participants' sense of belonging and confrontations with nationality into consideration can better account for the pivotal factors that subjugate participants at the intersection of social group identity while abroad. These narratives powerfully demonstrate how dominant perspectives of identity in literature and practice that de facto center the lived experiences of white middle-class females abroad are incomplete. This chapter attends to processes of identity formation that can better represent how particular tensions of belonging may emerge abroad and how they engender practices that meet their complexity.

Narratives of Identity Formation

As Hall (2019) reminds us, identity is not a static biologically fixed outcome. It does not predetermine how students will experience their time and their presence in spaces abroad. Identity formation is a social process whose production does not end prior to going abroad nor does it begin while abroad. Experiences abroad become part of

participant processes of identity formation and social group identification. Students' lived experiences prior to going abroad may inform how they navigate oppressive structures and discriminatory practices abroad. The processes by which students are ascribed identities abroad are interactive. That is, neither students nor the publics with which they engage solely determine the students' identities. It is through interaction that these processes of identity formation take place. Narration is the vehicle by which the participants in my study claim, position, and articulate their identity, suggesting that the self be respected as the product of a deliberate narrative act (Williams, 2013). The power of individual articulation (Hall & Du Gay, 1996) is the method by which participants want to be understood and how they navigate their sense of self and identity abroad. The following section will illustrate Terry's confrontation with racism in Spain and how he used past experiences as a way to negotiate space while abroad.

Narrating self: Resiliency as a form of subversion. Terry's narrative of his experiences with marginalization prior to studying abroad provide an understanding of how he coped with and made meaning of his racialized personhood[23] in Spain. As a

[23] According to Fowler (2010), personhood refers to how a person emerges from specific ways of being in the world, particularly in terms of "power relations associated with different concepts of the person in egalitarian, heterarchical, and hierarchical systems" (p. 31).

Black Puerto Rican native, Terry experienced multiple instances of racism during his time in Madrid.

> Cuando fui a Madrid quizá percibí un poco de racismo y apatía por parte de la gente, sobre todo por el color de piel, mucho más que por el idioma, y me pasó mucho que me confundían. Yo creo que eso, como hay una alta emigración de personas de Marruecos a España, me confundía por personas de Marruecos. Ellos piensan que yo voy a llevar su trabajo.
>
> English Translation: When I went to Madrid, I perceived a bit of racism and apathy on the part of the people there, especially because of my skin color, much more than because of language. It happened a lot, where they confused me. I think that because there is a lot of migration from Moroccan people to Spain, they think [I am Moroccan and] that I'm going to take their job.

This narrative is an example of how social class and race were mutually implicated in shaping Terry's experience abroad. This narrative also points to the mobility regimes that regulate mobility for Moroccans at the intersections of social class, race, and nationality. A recent phenomenon, Moroccan immigration to Spain peaked in the 1990s, and Moroccans are now the largest immigrant group in Spain, approximately 15% of the population (Ramos et al., 2019). Terry's experience abroad provides insight into transnational processes of racialization and racism as a globalized structure. Kim (2008) argues that countries represent and negotiate different racial fields depending on a

process labeled transnational racialization. Furthermore, “any given country’s or group’s understanding of race, and its manifestation in racialized social systems, is fashioned via its global and historical story” (Christian, 2019). Consequently, “transnational racialization occurs at the junction between its historical emergence within the world-system and how it took hold, formed, and changed in distinct geographies: the intersection and interaction between a global racial order and its national contours” (Christian, 2019, p. 173). Extending this conversation, Byng (2013) argues that boundaries between racial groups can shift rapidly, from important to unimportant, whereas “race groups can be pariahs today” yet feel included tomorrow (p. 709). With these arguments in mind, it is vital to understand that all study abroad experiences are racialized. Insofar as race is a social structure that governs the differential mobility of social groups, local racialization processes and students’ social positions vis-à-vis racial hierarchies will enable or constrain their mobility and shape their experiences abroad. The interactive processes that students participate in abroad reproduce processes of racialization and mark students racially, thereby mediating their mobility while abroad. Verstraete (2001) argues that European tensions involve granting “freedom of mobility to some (citizens, tourists, businesspeople) that can only be made possible through the organized exclusion of others forced to move around as illegal aliens, migrants, or refugees” (p. 197). Terry’s experience with instances of racism as a social process gave

him the flexibility to analyze racism in relation to the social interests of Spanish and Moroccan access to resources and acceptance.

Terry was initially ascribed a subaltern identity of Moroccan "por el color de piel, quizá por mi pelo rizo." Translated into English, "for the color or my skin or maybe because of my curly hair." Terry explained that it was not until he pulled out his wallet to pay at restaurants that he was actually seen as a person rather than as a threat. He recounts that his personhood became recognized upon presumptions of economic mobility whereby he paid for goods and services. This experience produced an ideological orientation toward race that privileged the profit priorities of white Spaniards and deprioritized Terry's personhood of a Black man in Spain. This took place in the context of race relations in Spain, where racial hierarchies are such that non-white European personhood is denied and only partly recognized as long as the presence of racially subjugated subjects align with ethnonationalist economic priorities. I asked Terry how he navigated facing experiences of racism abroad. Comparing himself to someone who may come from a more privileged background, Terry offered an interesting reflection.

> Yo digo que las personas de escasos recursos económicos y que viven en desigualdad social son más resilientes. Quizá una persona con mucho dinero, cuando se expone al rechazo o cuando se pone a la necesidad, no necesariamente

> lo va a afrontar de la manera adecuada. Así que yo creo que nuevamente ser pobre y ser primera generación de 233niversitario me llevaba a sobrevivir.
>
> English translation: I say that people from limited economic resources and who live in social inequality are more resilient. Whereas a person with a lot of money, when they face rejection or when they are in need, they may not face it necessarily in an appropriate way. Again, in that way I believe that being poor and being first in your family to go to university led me to survive.

Terry's conceptualization of his identity abroad was directly connected to the structures of his past, which in this instance gave him the strength to navigate what he describes as "rechazo" translated in English, "rejection." Namely, he explained that due to his past experiences, he already had a familiarity with being out of place, whereas a wealthy person, one who did not have that experience, may be unnerved or shaken – especially in light of racial and class standings that often lend themselves to being a 'citizen of the world.' Terry's experience not only speaks to the complexities of the entanglements of mobility, race, nationality, and class, but it also speaks to the structures that shaped his past. Negotiating identity abroad also involved consideration of the historical formations of identity as embedded in a web of structures. While acknowledging these structures of oppression, Terry reframed his circumstances to acknowledge his identities of "poor" and "first-generation" as sources of strength that kept him anchored and grounded through difficulties.

Terry's counternarrative on coming from limited economic resources and living with inequity is the means by which he communicates the ways he coped with racism in Spain. Particularly, his strong sense of "resiliency" was a means by which he subverted and confronted immobility. Terry's act of subversion destabilizes discursive constructions that mark people of color as outsiders (Rossing, 2016). To engage in subversive acts "is a hope for creation of new possibilities, imaginable and unimaginable" (Portelli & Eizadirad, 2018, p. 53). In this way, the educational mobility justice framework provides practitioners and scholars a way to grasp and substantiate these complex entanglements that students may face while abroad. It may elucidate the ways that marginalized groups resist centering experiences of oppression (i.e., racism abroad) and reframe them as narratives of subversion. This is a subversive experience because Terry does not allow instances of racism to immobilize him. Given racism's history of obstructing the mobility of marginalized groups, one would expect that experiencing racism abroad would obstruct Terry's mobility abroad. The form of racism Terry experienced has been termed "racial microaggressions" as Sue et al. (2008) describes as "brief, common-place, and daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental slights and indignities directed toward Black Americans, often automatically and unintentionally" (p. 329). These forms of racism are expected to paralyze and exclude Black participants from being able to move freely, eat at restaurants, and gain access to new ideas and experiences. Yet, Terry's narrative suggests that his experience with

hardships associated with marginalization prepared him to subvert the immobility that is expected of Black study abroad participants who experience racial microaggressions abroad. One may see the narrative of Terry coping with racism as an added layer of oppression, a burden, and indicative of another barrier to mobility. However, I argue that it is an act of subversion as Terry draws on his experiences with hardship to achieve and sustain mobility while abroad. By taking acts of subversion into account, scholars and practitioners can better account for the mechanisms by which students challenge and subvert racism and other forms of abusive power abroad. Moreover, scholars and practitioners can draw on their own expediential knowledge of subversion to navigate in a new social field. An act of subversion is evident in Long's experience, discussed next, as he resisted social group labeling and disrupted categorization by reclaiming control of his narrative.

Narrating self: Disrupting categorization. Next, I highlight Long, whose experiences have been examined in the previous chapter. A Vietnamese and Washington native who studied abroad with COE in Spain, Long talked about a sense of liberation that he experienced as he navigated his sexuality and racial, first-generation, and low-income identities abroad. "All I knew was that I was gay, and I wanted to just take the label away. Can I just be a person?" For Long, categorization and labeling were representative of hierarchical and dehumanizing power relations, materializing in how his identity was often reduced to his sexuality. Through acts of subversion, such as

disrupting social categorization, Long was able to find new ways to reclaim power. Identity formation is simultaneously about participants being shaped by discursive categorizations while also constructing their sense of self (Jenkins, 1996). Referring to the identity categories of low-income and first-generation, Long makes it a point to say that these categories were "labeled upon me as a child." In this way, Long's counternarrative can be used as subverting structural and hegemonic understandings of self. Long's narrative calls attention to the disruption of discursive otherness via a social group category as a quest to explore personhood abroad.

> When I went to Spain, none of [those labels] were there. You know, I could just be whoever I wanted to be without having these categories of society tell me who I am. I think that was liberating because I realized that as an adult, you can create your own narrative. You don't have to be a victim. For a really long time, I was a victim. I would repeat that even into jobs and schooling. And even though sometimes I felt like I was part proud of it because I know that I can get out of it. It was also kind of like an advantage, but it could kind of push me back too, you know, it made me feel disconnected to other people, unintentionally, of course. At the time, I wasn't conscious enough to understand where it all came from. So, when I went to study abroad, none of that really existed. It was like, cool. We're all first-generation students, we're low income, but let's get that out of the way now and let's just have fun and learn together.

Long's counternarrative was one that resisted being labeled or to be seen solely as gay, low-income, first-generation, or Southeast Asian. Study abroad was Long's opportunity to create his own narrative, according to his own rules beyond the oppressive circumstances that bound his past. Here, it is important to distinguish Long's process of creating his own narrative from more commonly encountered (and privileged) narratives of upper-class white voyages of self-discovery in 'exotic' locales in the mode of Elizabeth Gilbert's (2007) "Eat Pray Love." Rather, Long's self-making emerges from the rigid confines of how he is legible in the U.S.

Narratives like Long's demonstrate that social meaning is attached to stigmatized identities. For Long, he internalized a subjectivity of "victim," yet while navigating his experience abroad he did not passively accept that stigmatized identity – he contested it. Through subversion of the forms of categorization that he encountered in the U.S., Long's experience abroad disrupted restrictive hegemonic formulas for identity. In this way, Long expressed that study abroad "allows you to, in a way, to disconnect from what narratives society has put on you and allows you to just create your own." Long used his study abroad experience to disrupt the social norms that marginalized him as "other" and began to understand that he could construct an identity more consistent with his own self-concept. Study abroad provided an epistemic opening, or new possibilities of knowing. According to Opsal (2011), "the selves we constitute through narrative often incorporate past experiences (as we choose to narrate them), present happenings, and future desires

about who and how we want to be" (p. 138). For Long, study abroad was a space where he could be seen beyond the norms that compelled him to self-narrate as a victim and reclaim a sense of control and agency over his own identity and narrative. Meaning-making processes abroad present opportunities for the discursive deconstruction of identity, resistance to the imposition of identity categories, and the production of new identities.

Narrating self: Subverted passing. Identifying as biracial and queer, Megan, a native of California, refers to her COE study abroad experience as one that "fundamentally shifted my perspective of self." Prior to studying abroad, Megan said she never felt confronted by her identity. For example, Megan said that she did not know how to navigate college. For Megan, it did not matter that she was "first-generation, low-income, and half brown." Regardless of her social identity, she could not navigate college. Megan explained that being a first-generation undergraduate student was an overwhelming experience that she struggled to navigate while working full time. The challenges of navigating her college experience held precedence over navigating her identity because throughout life, "I passed in a lot of ways." It was not until she studied abroad that she began to unpack how she was perceived by others or how she saw herself.

> I definitely count myself as passing, so more often than not, I can pass as white. But I will get the here and there comments, 'I don't quite…What are you? or you don't quite look like X, or you look different.' And so, I do have had those

> conversations throughout my life being that I don't really fall on either side. I am fortunate to have the ability to pass, and the ability to see two perspectives. I'm also queer identified and I'm married to a woman I met in the Peace Corps, in fact, and I also pass for a straight person. In life I have these multiple layers of identity that aren't necessarily recognized by the community or society around me unless I'm really open about them. The best part, I think for me, in thinking about myself, is that I'm really very flexible. I'm adaptable. And I didn't really see those things about myself until I studied abroad.

Historically, passing has been presumed as a way of pretending or concealing one's social location[24] and inviting "society to misapply its criteria for racial identification" (Elam, 2007, p. 754). Alternatively, Williams (2013) forwards an understanding of passing "as a subject having the agency to conceive of, narrate, and thereby, establish the terms by which she is read" (p. 303). Megan interprets her passing as strengths of flexibility and adaptability that were solidified abroad. By highlighting flexibility and

[24] Social location refers to an individual's unique combination of gender, social class, age, sexual orientation, geographic location, religion, or race.

adaptability as skills, Megan recalibrates the parameters of passing as part of her cultural registry[25] as she navigates, occupies, and sustains herself in space.

> In the Peace Corps, I went to Azerbaijan which is in the caucuses south of Russia, north of Iran, not tolerant towards LGBTQ people on the spectrum…I was able to also pass there, I pass as either Turkish or Iranian…I recognized that being biracial is almost like this beautiful gift because not only do I get to see it from two perspectives, but I can pass in so many places in the world. I have had other experiences in other countries where I don't pass and I do stick out, I've been to Senegal and to Indonesia. I didn't pass. I stuck out. I mean, that was an unusual feeling for me that I'd only felt for the first time going overseas. I actually think that it was in all of those ways that my identity has not just solidified, but created my sense of self. I feel the most comfortable in many different places, but not in places where I stick out. I don't like to stick out. So, it was really eye-opening. And like I said, it solidified who I am. I get along quite well in countries that have dark hair, dark eyes and a variety of complexions, but definitely not Black and definitely not South Asian or Southeast Asian community. I don't, I don't blend in. So, it's been

[25] Highlighted in Chapter Five, cultural registries refer to the range of cultural practices that race-class subjugated communities generate as a means of survival and mobility including academic networks, familial collective agency, community support, and personal skills and talents.

> really super interesting in that respect because I have passed my whole life and haven't really been confronted with having to think about what it's like to be biracial or what it's like to be queer.

Megan's narrative suggests that participants abroad have differentiated subject positions that enable or constrain their ability to shift their locations at will and assume agency over the process by which their narrative is interpreted. This is in contrast to preexisting rules and parameters of social rituals that decide, often through exclusion, the existence and recognition of subjects (Butler, 1996). Megan's experience abroad enabled her to develop a form of agency over the construction and interpretation of her identity. Megan was awakened to and confronted by the complexities of her "self" by experiencing the ability or inability to pass in different contexts while abroad. Megan internalized her ability to pass as a "beautiful gift," an ability to author her own identity rather than succumb to identity as something to be policed by others. In this way, study abroad can be a pivotal experience for participants as they navigate their identity through a dynamic act of self-narration. This narrative points to the instability of race as a social construction. Megan enters and exits spaces where race is remade, reinterpreted, and revised (Bennett, 2021). Megan, who assumes a biracial identity, upsets essentialist notions of racial identity. Subversion exists, in a sense, through the disruption of fixed categories of race, gender, class, and sexuality. Moving between spaces as a biracial, queer-identified, low-income, first-generation woman, Megan has the ability to challenge

restrictive ways of thinking about identity and its vast complexity in different social fields.

Passing is not a universally experienced benefit, due to the norms that shape the abilities of people to pass. One's ability to pass, as Megan became aware while she was abroad, is a "beautiful" privilege and a form of agency that is not within the reach of bodies who are marked as being of a specific social location. This is a form of subversion that not everyone can engage in, as Terry's experiences in Spain suggest. This observation further highlights how the benefits of study abroad are not universally experienced, as not everyone can reap the benefit of subverting fixed ascriptions of identity through practices of passing. If we paint study abroad participants with broad strokes, assuming that the benefits of study abroad are universally experienced within and across social groups, we miss such nuanced qualities that allow some students to reap certain benefits, such as exercising agency over defining their identity through the practice of passing. The following section will highlight the ways that participants confront their nationality and feelings of belonging while abroad.

Narratives of a Nation: Identity Formation

For Hall (1996), the nation is a discourse, a way of constructing meaning that influences and organizes our actions and our conceptions of ourselves. Benedict Anderson (1983) defines a nation as an imagined community, a public constructed through discourses of governance, trade, and belonging, among others. Narratives of

America as a nation are reflections of historical and contemporary group struggles and power relations (Hall, 1996; Winter, 2011). Historical narratives of America often erase the settler colonial past or downplay the reliance on enslavement as an engine of economic growth. Whereas belonging is about emotional attachment, the politics of belonging concern the construction of the boundaries governing who belongs to particular collectivities (Yuval-Davis, 2011). According to Siim and Stoltz (2014), the politics of belonging concern both the construction of boundaries and the (in)exclusion of particular people, social categories, and groupings within these boundaries. The politics of belonging involve "the maintenance and reproduction of the boundaries of the community of belonging by the hegemonic political powers (within and outside the community), but also their contestation, challenge, and resistance by other political agents" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 20). Locally and globally situated, politics of belonging affect members of these collectivities and communities differently.

Yuval-Davis (2006) presents three understandings of belonging, differentiating between three major analytical levels on which belonging is constructed. Different levels of belonging include analysis of social locations, identifications, and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groupings, and ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belongings (Yuval-Davis, 2006). In this way, citizenship is centered around "who belongs, who doesn't, and what qualifications (such as race, class, gender, sexuality, or religion) are required to be

recognized as citizens" (Vickery, 2017, p. 319). Yuval-Davis (2012) investigates how racism contributes to the politics of belonging by employing the term "autochthony" to describe "the racist discourse which uses origin, culture, and religion as signifiers of immutable boundaries like other forms of racism, but its focus is spatial/territorial" (p. 155). Autochthonic politics of exclusion use race and other intersecting factors that signify boundaries of 'us' and 'them' such as gender, citizenship, class, social, and political entitlements. These policies are used to advance racist ideologies and racially motivated policies. In this way, an analysis of politics of belonging requires considerations of the diverse and intersecting locations of participants.

Paramount to examining the lived experiences of minoritized first-generation, low-income students abroad, the following three sections explore the salience and impact of an intersectional analysis abroad. Foregrounding nationality and social group identity in this analysis seeks not only to problematize universalist assumptions about study abroad (e.g., participants as global ambassadors for their nation) but also to illuminate some of the ways in which participants inhabit, engage with, and confront their sense of place as an American at home and abroad. The following sections will analyze the ways that participants navigate feelings of belonging and affinity all the while confronting complexities of national identity abroad.

"America is not everything": Questioning American exceptionalism. Vickie, a Minnesota native who identifies as biracial, studied abroad at the age of 67. In her

interview, she talked about a pivotal moment that stood out for her when she studied abroad with COE in Spain. When Vickie was dropped off at her place of residence during her first day in Spain, she decided to go for a walk by herself.

> I had to use the bathroom and I almost wet my pants because I couldn't speak well enough to ask someone. I mean, I knew baño, and it made me realize we have immigrants in the United States that go through this on a daily basis. I mean, even with this virus, when I was in the store the other day at the grocery store, because of Salamanca and studying abroad, I saw the fear in these people's faces loading up so many groceries because they'd been through crises before. They've gone without food and water. And those are the things that studying abroad really opened up to me.

Gesturing to the ways in which immigrants from the Global South are devalued and judged in the U.S., Vickie recognizes the exclusionary territorial boundaries that are drawn around these groups that determine their collective rights as members of the nation. Articulations of citizenship and belonging in the U.S. give some individuals and groups the ability to represent the nation over others, alienating them because of their differences. Vickie's experience abroad, confronting a language barrier and uncertainty in the face of necessity in a foreign land, prompted Vickie to reflect on the hardships that immigrants endure in the U.S. Study abroad can engender reflections among participants about marginalization at home and abroad, even if those experiences are not their own.

> You know, just being in each other's presence and honoring each other's space and not necessarily understanding each other, but having the honor of being together by learning the fabulous experiences people have through their narratives is so important. It made me realize that America is not everything. Although it's my country and I love my country. We can learn, we can really learn a lot about humanity by studying abroad and that we really are seeing, instead of our differences, we have all so many more similarities. So, it was kind of negative and positive because at first it hurt me to realize, "why have you just thought of America as being everything for most of your life?" And it was positive because it changed that for me and it made me realize I can be proud of my country. I can learn and I can become a better American.

Vickie begins to question the idea of American exceptionalism, (i.e., the idea of the U.S. as an exceptional model of a nation that should be emulated by other nations). Vickie was pained that she had never before contested her own understandings of what it was to be an American. Vickie's mobility abroad helped her to question mythologies of American greatness and how she was complicit in them. Vickie was able to interrogate U.S. nationalist beliefs and began to distance herself from ideas of American exceptionalism, a process that she described as "honoring each other's space" and learning the "fabulous experiences people have through their narratives." Although Vickie still embraces her nationality and loves her country, study abroad allowed her to see it in new ways that are

in tension with nationalist discourses of U.S. superiority that she was steeped in for the first 67 years of her life.

"For the first time in my life, I've been seen as like, an American": Confronting nationality. Originally from the Midwest, Akeya studied abroad in Liverpool twice with COE and subsequently taught in a study abroad program through her university in Kenya for three months. Akeya reflected on the ways in which she confronted her identity abroad as a Black woman in Africa.

> I feel very much connected to Kenya, but not connected because people didn't see me as African-American. They very much saw me as like, an American, which for the first time in my life, I've been seen as an American. You know what I mean? Usually I'm seen as Black, African-American – now I'm seen as an American person which is very interesting. The people really embraced me there.

Surprisingly for Akeya, by going abroad, she became aware of her Americanness. Akeya's reference to being seen as an American as "very interesting" compels an understanding of citizenship as formal juridical membership (e.g., formal rights) versus citizenship as relational membership conditioned by power relations in the U.S. (Fox, 2005). As Shirazi (2018b) argues, a relational account of membership "draws attention to how (and which bodies) are recognized as national subjects and how membership is conferred (and withheld) through what is said and done in social settings" (p. 112). Akeya's narrative signals to her experience as a Black woman on the margins of

belonging in the U.S. and the layers of exclusion embedded in national identity. Patricia Hill Collins (1998) argues that U.S. national identity is rooted in ethnic nationalism where whites constitute the most valuable citizens, and Native Americans, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans are considered second-class citizens. Racialized discourse, practices, and policies in the U.S. make nationality and sense of belonging complex as marginalized communities have historically had to negotiate and demand their place in a nation that has attempted to eliminate and suppress their identity, agency, and culture.

> The little kids weren't sure where to place me but the older people would say, "oh, you American girl," and I think it was the way I was dressed. There were white Americans that were on this trip and I was the only black person, but they would just call me whatever the term was for American girl in Swahili. I didn't feel like the African people felt I was African, but I did feel more connected because black people were the majority. I got to see a bunch of black people all of the time!

Despite being seen as an American and not as an African American as she imagined she would be seen, Akeya reaffirmed that she still felt connected to the country and its people. Being immersed among "a bunch of Black people all of the time" is contrary to

the civic estrangement[26] African Americans feel on a daily basis in the United States. Experiences of civic estrangement reflect what Dubois (1994) refers to as double consciousness, a dual sense of identity that African Americans experience living as a racialized Other while simultaneously being American. Akeya experienced what it was like to be similar to others during her time in Kenya, a commonality that transcended her U.S. citizenship. Further, she confronted her identity of being an American in a place of heightened belonging and membership. Race is both a global structure as well as a series of processes of racialization that evolve locally (Kim, 2008). This is why Akeya experienced a sense of belonging in Kenya while also being recognized as American. Akeya experienced a heightened sense of belonging in Kenya due to global structures of race that mark Black bodies as distinct from other races. Yet, in Kenya, Akeya was recognized as American due to the local processes of racialization that identify her as distinct from those who she interacted with locally. Akeya's experience shows how nationality is embedded in notions of race and belonging. Further, her experience abroad demonstrates how the double consciousness that Dubois (1994) describes travels with students when they go abroad. In Kenya, Akeya felt both a sense of belonging as part of a globally otherized race while also contending with being identified as an American.

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[26] Tillet (2012) defines civic estrangement as the paradox post-civil rights African Americans experience as simultaneous citizens and non-citizens.

Living on a small farm in Kenya, Akeya explains that this space afforded her an opportunity to reflect on the ways in which people in the U.S. have dictated to her "the right way to do things." Through her experiences she began to realize that "there are different ways of doing things." The experience of living on a farm in Kenya "heightened" her senses and made her more aware of how Africa is perceived, contrary to what she experienced abroad. When Akeya returned to the U.S. she felt disturbed by the images and narratives of Africa in the media and exclaimed, "You've got it all wrong, we are putting out images that are wrong. I was just very upset with the TV." I asked Akeya if she ever had a chance to speak to someone about the emotions she was feeling when she returned to the U.S. Akeya indicated that she did not have that opportunity to debrief about her experience but "that's actually something that programs should consider for sure."

Akeya's suggestion is instructive for centering intersectional understandings of identity, mobility, and intercultural learning in study abroad programming. An educational mobility justice framework can speak to a debriefing curriculum that addresses the complexities that students confront while abroad and upon reentry. Specifically, it could prove to be beneficial for students to engage in a curriculum that helps them make meaning of their identities in ways that resist imposing identities on them. Rather, through an intersectional lens, faculty and staff can equip students with the critical thinking tools by which they can engage in processes of reflection of their

identities, their association with specific social groups, and the fluidity and interconnectedness of these social group associations. By unpacking the broader politics of belonging involved in navigating identity while abroad – in terms of participant identities at home, abroad, and the liminal spaces in-between – minoritized participants can freely reflect and critically examine identity formation as a contingent process, and yet, one that is their own.

"It was very different not being an outcast" – American born and excluded. While the experiences of Vickie and Akeya highlight how study abroad results in questions of American exceptionalism and confrontations with Americanness, this section examines Lorenzo's sense of exclusion in the U.S. compared to a heightened affinity in Spain. Lorenzo, the proud son of a single-mother Chilean refugee, expressed his feelings of longing for his community abroad that he felt in tune with, familiar to, and at home in Spain.

> Spain has a little piece of my heart. I grew up in the United States, but for some reason, I just felt so at home there. I don't know about sociological things but it was very different not being an outcast. I mean, I'm not a fluent Spanish speaker, but to kind of feel like everybody around you looked like you, like the people who own the stores, the people were running the stores, the people who were in the restaurants, they all just kind of looked like you. They all spoke Spanish and that

is definitely something I've never felt in the United States. And I don't know. I don't know how to describe it, but I miss that. I miss it a lot.

Lorenzo's affinity with the people in Spain was in direct contrast to his feelings of being seen as an "outcast" in his own country of citizenship. Ethnoracial differences have been systematically used as a way to include and exclude entire communities from participation as citizens in the U.S. (Vickery, 2017). Although citizenship is often depicted as universal and colorblind, at its core "citizenship is a designation of membership that determines who belongs and what that belonging means in practice" (Vickery, 2017, p. 319). Lorenzo and his family's experiences as Chilean Americans in the U.S. positioned them as outsiders despite the fact that he himself was born and raised in the United States. Raymond Rocco (2014) theorizes patterns and forms of political, cultural, and economic exclusions of Latinos in the U.S. and argues that they "constitute a pattern of *exclusionary inclusion*, a type of belonging that regulates and restricts the degree and nature of participation in the primary institutions of society" (p. xxx). Said differently, Latinos in the U.S. are included in aspects of societal institutions, but always on a limited and/or restricted basis (Rocco, 2014). In the educational setting, Shirazi (2018a) refers to the racialized thresholds minoritized students face as conditional hospitality, where belonging is highly conditional and based on white American normativity. For Lorenzo, feelings of being an outcast in the U.S. points to sentiments of perpetual foreignness, or always being seen as an Other in a white dominant society

(Devos & Banaji, 2005). Lorenzo felt a heightened sense of affinity in Spain during his short-term experience, a country in which the nation-building project took place through violent processes of suppressing and excluding non-white subjects and immigrants from their colonial outposts. The ideal subjects of the nation in Spain were Spanish speaking, Catholic, and fair-skinned peoples (Campos, 2016; Rodríguez-García, 2013; Rodríguez-García et al., 2018). In turn, the U.S. sought to exclude non-English speakers, providing a form of exclusionary inclusion (Rocco, 2014) that Lorenzo narrates in his comparison between his sense of belonging in the U.S. compared to Spain. Lorenzo's sense of belonging in Spain could reflect a respite from being *out of place* in the U.S. as a Latino of Chilean origin.

Lorenzo grappled with feelings of inclusion, familiarity, and kinship in a country where "they all just kind of looked like you." Race matters for every citizen in the U.S. "Because of its foundational role in the making of this country's history and myths, race, in conjunction with class and geography, invariably shapes educational, economic, and political opportunities for all of us" (Guinier, 2004, p. 117). Identifying with Spain and its people despite not knowing the language fluently speaks to immense and restrictive notions of belonging for minoritized groups in the U.S. Further, it speaks to a history of suppressing the Spanish language in the U.S. and the difficulties that multilingual families confront in terms of providing youth with opportunities to learn the language spoken in their home countries.

Although directed to the Black experience in America, Dubois (1896) speaks to these conflicting notions of identity when he asks, “Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?” (p. 194). Reflected in Dubois’ question is Lorenzo’s narrative of feeling like an outcast as a Chilean American living in the U.S. Lorenzo compares Spain and the U.S., stating, “I don't know about sociological things but it was very different not being an outcast [in Spain].” Lorenzo’s narrative demonstrates that, although through different processes and racialized social structures, Latinos in the U.S. must also grapple with the notion of double consciousness that Dubois raised in relation to Black people in the U.S. In turn, in Spain, fair-skinned Latinos can experience a heightened sense of affinity whereas Afro-Latinos like Terry report experiencing racism.

Navigating study abroad brings to light questions and reflections of belonging that students navigate as they confront their positioning as citizens in their own nation and feelings of belonging in a foreign home. The contrast between the experiences of Lorenzo and Terry while abroad in Spain speaks to the racialized social processes that operate and shape student experiences abroad, even among students who identify as “Latino,” but who differ along the lines of race. Implications of these findings suggest to practitioners that many participants are reexamining what membership in the U.S. means when they go abroad, and may require space both abroad and at home to debrief these complexities, particularly in spaces where students feel safe and supported. Further, essentializing notions of Latino students as part of a homogenous group fails to account for the ways in

which racial differences can shape experiences abroad, and fosters programming that does not attend to nor prepare students for the differential challenges that they face abroad as a result of local and transnational racialization processes.

"This is what we thought of you. This is what some of us still think of you. And this is how we viewed you for so long." – Confronting America after studying abroad. In an interview with Letricia, a California native, she describes herself by saying "I see myself very much as a Black woman." Traveling with COE abroad to Liverpool in 2004, Letricia reflected on conversations she had with local Black students while abroad about their experiences with race, racism, and exclusion in Liverpool.

> Listening to their stories of the struggle of Black people over there was a problem. It stuck out to me. I don't know if the other students that were Black or anybody else who was there, if it touched them the same way. They (the Liverpool Black students) kept saying, "we didn't have a civil rights movement like you guys did in the U.S., we know who Martin Luther King is, we know who Malcolm X is. We know of your leaders, but we didn't have the same movement here. So, the progress is not as fast. That sort of movement, that sort of legislation, and that sort of I guess even integration did not happen in the same manner." They were telling us about their downtown area of Liverpool at the City Centre, "if you go into the shops, there's no Black people working there." And I'm like, that's not true. Like, of course there is. It's the City Centre. It would be like going to downtown San Francisco and

> going to the mall down there with no Black people. I'm like, that's impossible. No, I'm sure there are Black people there. I'm sure. And then we would go and look. And I started looking around. I'm like, no, no, no. Nobody in this store. Go to another store…No, no. We were there for three weeks. So, we would go there after our classes and I constantly kept looking around. I really don't see any person of color working in these shops. They're all young white girls, young white boys, you know, not even in the little kiosk in the middle of the place. Nobody. Just nobody and it's like, that is amazing. And again, this is 2004, that's why in my head, I'm like, "this can't be right!"

Letricia was a witness to the reconfiguration of the racial contract overseas, where certain spaces and designations (i.e., right to work, right to gather) of "citizen" privileged whites in Liverpool while subjugating people of color. Civic estrangement in Liverpool led Letricia's peers to suggest that although they may have legal rights as citizens, they continue to be overlooked and marginalized as members of their nation. Letricia recognized that as a Black woman overseas she may have been the only person in her group who had to struggle with these realities. By purposefully visiting the city center every day, Letricia remained in disbelief of the exclusionary and visibly impermeable boundaries established in Liverpool. By observing race relations abroad, Letricia was prompted to evaluate and reevaluate race relations in her own country. This was a result

of exchanges with minoritized populations and their narratives of estrangement and lack of belonging and membership in Liverpool.

Alongside her Black Liverpool peers, Letricia studied the transatlantic slave trade in Liverpool and visited the River Mersey, monuments to slavery, and African slave trade museums. She held deep conversations about the racism her peers continued to experience while living in Liverpool. Letricia exclaimed, "I understand what you're going through because it's the same, but it's different." Becoming more aware of Liverpool's history made her confront her own country's contentious past.

> When I came home and I started looking at buildings around downtown, I'm like, that looks very similar to this thing I saw in England about celebrating slavery. How many people walk by that every day? If you don't know, I guess ignorance is bliss. But once you do know, it really does open your eyes when you start looking around at how many reminders that you have in your everyday life, in your face saying, "this is what we thought of you. This is what some of us still think of you. And this is how we viewed you for so long."

Study abroad is purported to instill global awareness. For Letricia, it did, but it was not limited to an awareness of those who are othered abroad but also of those who are othered at home. Letricia's experience signals that by witnessing ethnoracially subjugated lived experiences abroad, participants can be prompted to think about and compare their lived experiences in their own nation. Although differential histories produced different

lived experiences, Letricia was still able to observe and recognize the similarities that marginalized communities confront day to day in the U.S. Study abroad knowledge production is inseparable from racism and racialization processes. Learning about the Other is the mainstream promise of study abroad, but as Letricia's narrative suggests, decolonizing knowledge in and of the U.S. can (though not in all cases) lead to the creation of transnational solidarities. These are the kinds of experiences and outcomes of study abroad that scholarship on study abroad is unable to identify insofar as it is built on observations of experiences of racially dominant groups.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that self-narration is central to identity formation. Participants self-narrate through a process of storytelling, by activating their cultural registries to tell their stories, and reflecting on the circumstances abroad that guided their narration. Particularly, it was important for Terry, Long, and Megan to engage in self-narration as a form of power to subvert normative structures to sustain their sense of identity and mobility abroad. By consciously constructing their identity while studying abroad and upon their return to the U.S., participant narratives disturb the dominant gaze of study abroad discourse that fails to take into account the complexities of their counternarratives.

Study abroad literature has a history of subjectivized narration by highlighting the dominant experiences of white, middle-class, traditional-aged, cis gender females. Entire

populations have been eclipsed. Participants in this study enacted their narrative agency by reframing structures of oppression as strengths, disrupting social categorization, and by subverting the act of passing at will and through self-governance. Through reflection abroad and at home, participants experience and assess their identity in spaces where power-structures have the potential to be obstructive. Implications for research and practice indicate that self-narration is an important point of entry for discussions of subjectivity, agency, acts of subversion, and emancipation as participants navigate the complexities of identity during and after study abroad.

This chapter unsettles fixed notions of belonging as participants negotiate nationality and belonging during and after studying abroad. I find that participants became acutely aware of their American identity and sense of belonging within America as they navigated their experience abroad. Making sense of their American identity and place within their nation at home was of considerable importance to their navigation of identity abroad. By applying the concept of politics of belonging as a way for nations to demarcate the community in a way that constitutes and separates "us" and "them," we come to understand the racialized dynamics of nationalism as participants explored identity abroad. In contesting and reflecting on their nationality abroad, participants questioned their relationship to the nation, their value and place in their nation, and the geopolitical realities of their place in the world (Dolby, 2007). This reflexive sociopolitical learning is rarely acknowledged, let alone substantively explored in study

abroad literature and programming. Through engagement with students' conceptions of belonging, my findings illuminate the complexities that participants face as they grapple with the boundaries and feelings of exclusion that their own country of origin has constructed to keep them or other marginalized groups from membership. By examining the narratives of Vickie, Akeya, Lorenzo, and Letricia, this chapter complicates universal "American" experiences abroad as they probed, confronted, and challenged their sense of belonging, membership, and national identity.

This chapter examined how participants have distinct perceptions that complicate the idea that minoritized students share universal frames, lens, or experiences. Instead, the lives and understandings of these students is quite rich, and defies essentialization. Sociopolitical learning in study abroad presents differently for different students, as demonstrated by Terry and Lorenzo's narratives of studying abroad in Spain. Both Terry and Lorenzo identify as students, yet their experience and understanding of belonging in Spain manifested in completely different ways. As a fair-skinned Chilean Latino in Spain, Lorenzo did not face the racism that Terry, a Black Puerto Rican Latino, endured. This points to the instability of "Latino" as a racial formation in the U.S. Racial hierarchies shape student experiences and interactions both in the U.S. and abroad, and can inform how students who studies abroad narrate or interpret the world. Lorenzo's gaze towards Spain cannot be characterized universally, particularly as a place in which all Latinos experience a greater sense of belonging. Racial hierarchies, as the experiences

of Lorenzo and Terry show, cut across ethnicities and produce different experiences, even for students within the same ethnic group.

Notions of global structures of race and local processes of racialization should inform study abroad program design and implementation, given how these structures and processes shape the experiences of study abroad participants. Comparing Terry and Akeya's narratives, where global structures of race and local processes of racialization shape Terry's experiences of racism and alienation in Spain, these structures and processes give Akeya a sense of belonging in Kenya while also marking her as "American," a status with an ambivalent meaning for her. Akeya's heightened sense of belonging and membership in Kenya also speaks to the differences between study abroad experiences in countries where students can identify themselves with people in the countries that they visit, whereas students like Terry who study abroad in areas where they are minoritized may be subject to experiences of racism. In Akeya's case, her heightened sense of belonging took place through a Black American gaze, which prompted her to contrast the sense of exclusion in the U.S. and a sense of belonging in Kenya. Yet, her status as an African-American conferred her an ability to gain entry and acceptance in various spaces abroad that she did not sense in the U.S. These findings suggest that study abroad and international education practitioners must account for and develop educational initiatives that inform and prepare students for distinct processes of transnational racialization abroad.

Further comparative analyses shows similar and contrasting narratives regarding the ways participants confront social categorization in their host countries. Similar to Long's narrative, Megan's narrative of being a queer multiracial woman highlights the instability of categorization and a possibility of oppression through social location categorization. Oppositional categories such as 'heterosexual' cannot exist without the corresponding category of 'homosexual' and become used as instruments of social control (Crawford, 1992). In comparing Long and Megan's narratives, I find participants reclaim a sense of power though self-definition of categories or naming their identity. This self-making (Ong, 1999) subverts labeling and categorization as acts of power directed at those with less power. The proximity to heteronormativity and whiteness confers some students with the privileges that are associated with people who hold a dominant social groups status. This points to the need for a more nuanced understanding of identity and social groups that goes beyond broad and essentialized categories that assumes shared struggles from shared social locations.

Within marginalized social groups, scholars have to attend to the inequalities experienced by individuals that are specific to their social locations and experiences. Scholarship that attributes universal benefits of study abroad to minoritized students can produce practices and programming that does not attend to the specific struggles and challenges that certain subgroups may face abroad. Scholars and practitioners should think about who cannot pass as well as the specific struggles or challenges that

disadvantaged subgroups of marginalized groups experience. Megan's experience of passing in multiple countries and continents is in sharp contrast to Terry's inability to pass while studying in Spain. Instead, Terry has to rely on his experiential knowledge of living with racism to enjoy and sustain his presence abroad. In this way, I argue that an educational mobility justice framework and intersectional lens are not interchangeable. By virtue of focusing on mobility, a form of inequality is identified that may have otherwise been overlooked, particularly if assumptions that immobility or inequality are products of social group membership in more than one marginalized group. By focusing on mobility, though membership in more than one marginalized group produces distinct forms of disadvantage, the ability or inability to pass signals yet another dimension of marginalization that does not affect intersectionally marginalized groups equally and that can enable or constrain a person's ability to gain access to and sustain a presence in spaces.

The resulting picture is complex. Although Terry and Lorenzo are both "Latinos" in Spain, their experiences showcase divergent feelings of affinity, racialization, and belonging. Terry's experiences of racism in Spain and Akeya's contrasting narrative of belonging in Kenya points to local processes of racialization and terms of membership that shaped their time abroad. Megan's positive experiences of passing abroad confers a degree of privilege that cannot be had by Terry, Akeya, Long, or Letricia. This analysis suggests that minoritized first-generation, low-income students, despite their shared

marginalization in study abroad, cannot be characterized universally as a study abroad student population.

Participant experiences point to contention around nationality abroad. Study abroad and student exchange in the U.S. were originally and continue to be conceived of with the intention of fostering a form of U.S. global ambassadorship (Commission, 2005). Perhaps this mission was designed with white, privileged students in mind, who presumably shared a consensual understanding of the U.S. and their privileged place within its political order. As U.S. low income, first-generation minoritized students gain entry into study abroad, they may not seek to serve in this ambassadorship role because of the history of the U.S. subjugation of their people or legacies of U.S. political intervention in their countries of origin, like in the case of Chile for Lorenzo, or Puerto Rico for Terry. Study abroad experiences bring those histories to the fore in their consciousness. Contrary to the creation of study abroad as a form of global ambassadorship, for race-class subjugated communities, study abroad might be a catalyst for the development of critiques of racial hierarchies, the political systems, and racially discriminatory policies in the U.S. In this way, study abroad can be a site of counterhegemonic political learning and critical self-awareness in relation to membership and belonging as students become aware of ethnoracial subjugation in the U.S. and confront their own positioning as rightful citizens. Through the narratives of these participants, this chapter invites researchers and practitioners to explore the ways in

which they grapple with and refashion notions of membership, nationality, and belonging while abroad.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

This project draws from the narratives of study abroad participants to provide an understanding of how mobility regimes function in the educational realm. These narratives display mobility as the product of historically differentiated experiences and unequal social locations that have lasting impacts. These differentiated histories of mobility help shape study abroad participation and its effects on students' lives. Interviews and a focus group with a neglected and underserved population in the field of study abroad, first-generation low-income minoritized students, revealed varied experiences and participant histories that illustrate the discursive and systemic bases of (im)mobility. Student counternarratives challenge their depictions in existing study abroad literature as deficient subjects and provide a needed account of the social, economic, and political context in which the mobility gap in study abroad emerges. I find that students' differentiated mobilities affect and influence their mobility imaginaries, possibilities of travel, and their narrations of identity abroad. I conclude this dissertation with a summary of my findings, a discussion of policy implications based on findings, and, lastly, ideas of areas for future inquiry.

Summary of Findings

Ideations of travel and the structures that bind them. In Chapter Four, I conceptualize study abroad as a phenomenon enmeshed in the broader politics and power

hierarchies of higher education that directly impact educational mobility. In this chapter, I begin the work of troubling the dynamics (i.e., structural, financial, social, and cultural) that systematically work to constrain students' imaginative travel and the mobility of marginalized populations. I draw from Cresswell (2008) and Sheller's (2018) scholarship on mobilities in Chapter Four to further delineate the importance of acknowledging the structural and historical factors that inform the politics of movement in study abroad mobility. In this view, study abroad mobility must be seen in relation to the broader politics of movement, meanings, and practices that govern who gains access to or is excluded from study abroad and that shapes dominant ideologies in the field of international education. I found that participants point to an absence of *imaginative travel* throughout their personal histories. Imaginative travel refers to the process by which participants internalize the possibility of travel. Participants highlighted throughout their narrative histories the hegemonic notions of study abroad, which portray study abroad as an activity that was designed for white, affluent females. These hegemonic ideas about study abroad also imply the inevitability of the immobility of race-class subjugated communities. These ideas of the inevitability of immobility uphold structural inequalities, influencing participant perspectives on a wide range of aspects of mobility, including travel.

In turn, universalist notions of study abroad in scholarship and practice of participants forward homogenous understandings of the histories and experiences of

study abroad participants, as well as the presumed effects of study abroad on the circumstances and social relations through which students' lives unfold. Study abroad participants are purported to experience benefits of study abroad in universal ways that include an increase in intercultural development, employment gains, and language acquisition skills. The universalist notions that essentialize different social groups support the continuity of policy and programmatic silences that result in a failure to address the needs and support the educational mobility aspirations of students from race-class subjugated backgrounds. In aims of departing from the universalist notions that dominate study abroad literature and programming, I introduce the framework of *educational mobility justice*. The educational mobility justice framework challenges dominant assumptions within the field of education by seeking to understand and trace histories of the uneven and unequal mobility of students. The educational mobility justice lens centers national, gendered, ethnoracial, and class compositions of historically different forms of mobility. This chapter brings to the fore an educational mobility justice framework to examine the discursive and material barriers that obstruct the access of intersectionally marginalized groups to educational opportunities, programs, and institutions.

Institutional and agentic mechanisms of educational mobility justice. In Chapter Five, I find that TRIO programs exert encouraging influence over participants as they disrupt hegemonic ideologies that impede participant mobility or imagination for

travel. I argue that the structures I discussed in Chapter Four systematically oppress marginalized students in education. Despite the durability of these structures and the ideologies associated with them, TRIO programs create a way to disrupt these structures through a concerted effort aimed at broadening what is considered to be possible among students, their families, and the campus community. This study finds that the effects of these concerted efforts, coupled with students' agentic abilities, enable creative navigation of structural barriers, particularly those barriers that have constrained participant's imaginative travel and mobility imaginaries. These findings point to the salutary effects that TRIO interventions have on family members, peers, and other networks, resulting in a spillover effect that can affect generations.

Participants engaged in financial mobilization as a form of agency by employing their cultural registries and tapping into their networks to make study abroad a reality. I introduce the notion of *cultural registry* as the range of cultural practices that race-class subjugated communities generate and draw from as means of survival and mobility, including: academic networks, familial collective agency, community support, and personal skills and talents. I found that participants strategically and efficiently mobilize diverse resources from their cultural registries in order to move from considering the possibility of studying abroad to realizing their mobility imaginaries.

As a result of their experience studying abroad, participants began to reexamine, reallocate, and reappropriate their time (i.e., rhythms or changes involved in social

processes) and space (i.e., how movement is practiced, experienced, apprehended, and embodied). I find that participants develop a sense of *temporal awakening*, referring to a shift in participants' state of existing as well as their relationship with time, which was not previously existent prior to studying abroad. I argue that by experiencing a temporal awakening, participants realized that they could allocate social time toward processes of social reproduction including self-care, family, friends, new pathways, and new energies. By disrupting hegemonic constructs of time, participants call into question the norms that have shaped and continue to shape their lived experiences. These conclusions have led me to consider that minoritized first-generation, low-income students experience study abroad in unique ways that stand in contrast to the benefits traditionally depicted in literature.

Narratives of self: Navigating identity abroad. In Chapter Six, I build on the previous chapters to call attention to the complex and contrasting ways in which participants experience and make meaning of study abroad. In examining identity as a process that is never fixed (Fraser, 2013; Hall, 2019), in this chapter I challenge dominant depictions and the subjectivized narration of study abroad participants as white, middle-class, traditional aged, cis-gender females. This chapter uses participant self-narrations to illustrates that their identity processes evolved during and after their study abroad experiences. Using participant voices, I provide an expanded view of low-income, first-

generation minoritized students as agentic study abroad actors and illustrate the fluidity of their identities as they intersect with their study abroad experiences.

Chapter Six challenges universalist assumptions about the benefits of study abroad by calling attention to the complex experiences and benefits minoritized first-generation, low-income students experience as a result of studying abroad. First, I illustrate the ways participants reframe their experiences under structures of oppression as potential sources of strength. Participant narratives also seek to disrupt social group categorization, a process by which participants are placed into social groups. In particular, this process of social group categorization is oftentimes oversimplified, imposed, exploitative, and essentializing. I find that self-narration is a means for participants to enact their agency and engage in acts of subversion, particularly in spaces where power-structures have the potential to be obstructive. Second, this chapter reveals study abroad as a productive process for participants to critically rethink their national membership, identity, and belonging. Here, I find that while abroad, participants begin to unsettle fixed notions of belonging and become acutely aware of their nationality, their place within their nation, and their sense of belonging while abroad. I also find that participants begin to question latent assumptions of U.S. exceptionalism while abroad. This stands in contrast to the originally intended consequence of study abroad programs, which as articulated by the Lincoln Commission (2005), is to foster a form of U.S. global

citizenship as a mechanism for student ambassadorship and propagation of ideas about the professed virtues of the U.S. political system.

By revealing distinct and unique narratives through participant self-narration, this chapter complicates the idea that students share universal frames or experiences abroad by pointing to the individual and social group differences wrought by structural arrangements, i.e., class, race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, citizenship status, and so forth. Through comparative analysis of participant experiences, this chapter demonstrates that participant identities and their experiences abroad defy essentialization. Study abroad literature and practices essentialize and invisibilize difference by adopting "essentialized racial/ethnic categories that erase the socioeconomic, historical and political variability across and within racial/ethnic groups and obscure the potential relevance of these factors on student engagement" (Thomas, 2013, p. 375). Rather, through consideration of the processes of transnational racialization, membership, and the instability of categorization, this chapter provides a more nuanced understanding of identity and social groups of study abroad participants than existing accounts, which tend to forward assumptions of shared experience as a result of broad and essentializing notions of identity categories. The findings in this chapter suggest to scholars and practitioners the importance of attending to the inequalities that individuals experience that are specific to their locations and experiences in order to counter discursive, oversimplified, and static social group categorization of minoritized participants.

As a result of examining the narratives of these participants, I find that study abroad holds immense potential to serve as a catalyst for critiques of racial hierarchies and as a site of counterhegemonic political learning and critical self-awareness in relationship to membership nationality and belonging while abroad. Based on this study's findings, I recommend multi-level policy considerations. These recommendations promote the use of historized and intersectional understandings of mobility and study abroad to inform study abroad policies and programming. These understandings of the social and historical factors that shape mobility and study abroad place particular emphasis on participant experiences at the intersection of diverse social groups and seek to disrupt hegemonic understandings in international education.

Policy Implications

In this section, I consider the implications of my research findings. These include key lessons and considerations at the meso- and macro-level. Drawing from my dissertation findings, I present policy implications that are important for policy, practice, and theory in the field of Comparative and International Development Education. First, I present considerations for the broader field of study abroad and international education. Second, I highlight considerations for institutions in higher education. Third, and lastly, I present considerations for study abroad at the student level.

Considerations for the field of study abroad and international education.

***Educational mobility justice*.** Absent from study abroad literature is a framework for scholars to interrogate the politics of mobility in higher education. To date, study abroad and international education scholarship has not been concerned with tracing the mobility histories of prospective students, or even of current or former participants. An educational mobility framework would allows scholars and practitioners to closely examine and address the discursive and systemic bases of educational (im)mobility that generate unjust power relations. This dissertation provides an educational mobility justice lens that centers the experiences of disenfranchisement, disinvestment, and disproportionate mobilities of students in higher education and places them in historical and social context. Building on Sheller's (2018) mobility justice framework, higher education practitioners and scholars should seek to understand how marginalized study abroad participants experience differential mobilities prior to study abroad, how these mobility inequalities impact their ability to even imagine themselves as participants, and how immobility, discursive and structural, obstructs and shapes study abroad participation.

Moreover, practitioners in the field can act as agents to disrupt the structures that obstruct students' imaginations from conceiving mobility as a possibility on their own terms. This study shows that as a result of this disruption, participants began to embrace mobility imaginaries and developed an emancipatory practice that allowed them to be mobile. I encourage scholars in the field of study abroad and international education to

examine the mobility histories of minoritized, first-generation, and low-income students as a way to contest the assumptions upon which dominant explanations for the educational mobility gap rest. By centering the historical, institutional, systematic, and societal dynamics that shape the study abroad participation of marginalized groups, the field can further interrogate the discursive and material barriers that obstruct the access of intersectionally marginalized groups to educational opportunities, programs, and institutions.

In the proceeding sections, I expand on specific ways that scholars and practitioners can apply an educational mobility justice framework in institutions of higher education, the field of study abroad, and, more broadly, international education. Considerations of an educational mobility framework include: combining an educational mobility justice framework and intersectional lens for future analysis, increased accountability for fair and just international education practices, an intersectional and decolonial emphasis in curriculum, implementation of critical tools such as strategic debriefing, institutionalization of possibility agencies, incorporating families into study abroad outreach and implementation strategies, an increase in resource allocation for faculty and practitioner training and inter-unit collaborations, and increasing representation of marginalized staff and faculty in the development and implementation of study abroad.

An educational mobility framework and intersectional lens. In Chapter Six, I argue that an educational mobility framework and intersectional lens are not interchangeable, but rather integral to one another. I posit that an educational mobility framework and intersectional lens are complimentary and that analyzing lived experiences through both enables more nuanced understandings of the distinct and dynamic experiences of participants prior to, during, and after going abroad. By analyzing the unique and complex mobility experiences of marginalized students abroad, I recognized lived experiences at the intersection of multiple forms of inequalities that may have otherwise been overlooked in how existing programs and mainstream approaches to study abroad are conceptualized. A focus on mobility and an attention to the intersecting structures that shape participant lived experiences allows researchers to recognize immobility and inequality as the products of social group membership in more than one marginalized group. Through this lens, this dissertation highlights participants' rich and complex experiences that defy essentialization and complicate the idea that marginalized students share universal frames and mobility experiences.

For faculty and practitioners, everyday practices and administration of these programs means developing self-reflexivity by considering their own (dis)comfort and preparedness in addressing the complex mobility histories and intersecting identities of their participants. This can lead study abroad leadership to question whether they have the skills necessary to create safe spaces, recognize and address microaggressions,

develop trust and rapport with diverse students, and productively engage students in post-colonial reflective exercises (Willis, 2015). By prioritizing critical reflexivity, international education practitioners may be equipped to anticipate, address, and develop ways to proactively meet their students' diverse needs prior to, during, and after their study abroad experiences. In the event faculty and practitioners are not comfortable with working with diverse needs and complex circumstances, I recommend study abroad departments and organizations collaborate with or hire those who do have those necessary skills.

I call on scholars and practitioners in the field to think about mobility as intergenerational, gendered, classed, and raced. Furthermore, I argue that those in the field of international education should refrain from universalist and essentialist assumptions about the circumstances and experiences of study abroad participants, and instead seek to recognize how social group differences shape the varying effects of study abroad on the circumstances and social relations in which students' lives unfold. Study abroad experiences are not inscribed onto a blank slate and students cannot be presumed to approach the question of study abroad under the same circumstances. When considering the backgrounds of first-generation, low-income, and minoritized students in particular, a mobility justice and intersectional analysis leads me to find that class, migration histories, and gender all inform the mobility imaginations of participants in this study.

A fair and just international educational practice. I call for increased accountability in higher education, the field of study abroad, and international education in the fulfillment of the mission of providing equal opportunity for students to study abroad. This section will outline the need for a multi-pronged and sustained effort to change institutions to be less exclusionary and hostile to minoritized and low-income communities and students. I do not ascribe solving structural problems to individuals who work in compromised institutions. Some of that work is attributed to the institution, and some of it is beyond it. Study abroad is another site of this struggle, one that has been overlooked for too long. In Chapter Five, I argue that although study abroad is purported to be equally available to all undergraduate students, regardless of social group, there are histories and structures that shape and produce unequal access to mobility. The ethical question this raises for practitioners is how to offer study abroad programs that are reflective of the unequal social locations and differentiated histories of mobility and access, and therefore, more accessible for the entirety of the student communities they serve.

Achieving equal access to study abroad programming can include policymaking that seeks to ameliorate the effects of social inequalities. These understandings of inequality in relation to study abroad mobility must inform the efforts of study abroad programs and practitioners, including practices of advertising, recruiting, outreach, and advising students to study abroad. To this end, higher education institutions and study

abroad programs must adopt practices tailored to the mobility histories and opportunities of marginalized students. This entails allocating resources aimed at ameliorating the disadvantages that these students are burdened with addressing in order to gain access to studying abroad and sustain their presence abroad.

An educational mobility justice framework can position the field of international education to begin the work of confronting the entrenched structures that have immobilized entire populations of students on campus. The field of international education can counter universalist assumptions and deficit framing narratives by centering and amplifying the narratives of minoritized populations. One way in which higher education institutions can subvert the dominance of deficit framings and centering the voices of marginalized populations in the field of international education is through providing support for scholarship that centers the narratives of marginalized groups. This includes scholarship that adopts critical race theory and mobility justice analytical lenses that place the voices of marginalized populations at the center of the research. This can be achieved through grants that remunerate faculty and administrators for the labor that they carry out in the pursuit of these aims, funding for research, and the hiring and retention of scholars and practitioners who can advance this area of inquiry and methods of study abroad research.

Further policy efforts can be aimed at integrating study abroad practices into the fabric of possibility agencies like TRIO through increased funding and training for

directed collaboration. This has the potential to create a culture of inter-unit collaboration that situates study abroad in organizations that have frontline access to students and that are more attuned to recognizing and addressing their complex needs. During my tenure as a TRIO Director at a large 4-year midwestern research institution, I worked toward creating a synergy between TRIO and study abroad. This effort led to an institutionalized study abroad program led by TRIO that was funded by international programs. As a result of this collaboration, TRIO staff and leadership were equipped to recruit, lead, teach, and evaluate study abroad programs for low-income, first-generation students on campus.

Other forms of potential collaboration include faculty and administration collaboration. These collaborations can support the enactment of other important means by which higher education institutions can subvert the dominance of deficit framings that include redesigning study abroad marketing and outreach efforts and materials. This can also include allocating resources to programs and offices to train faculty, study abroad staff, and other administrators toward adopting culturally sensitive practices that are attuned to the specific experiences, histories, and opportunities that can be made possible for participants from marginalized backgrounds.

Lastly, a fair and just international education practice urges scholars and practitioners to question the ways in which study abroad is premised on an American belief that the world is their backyard and readily available for them to explore on their

terms. Conversely, that right does not extend to people coming to the U.S., particularly from the Global South. The broader field of international education must account for study abroad as an opportunity that may be beneficial for participants, yet also highly problematic for exoticizing and essentializing places of study and communities abroad. Certainly, some of these issues can be mitigated by course practices. These and other efforts for more just and fair practices are discussed in the following section.

Considerations for higher education institutions.

An intersectional and decolonial study abroad curriculum. The results discussed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six show that an intersectional lens is critical to understanding student experiences prior to, during, and after studying abroad. An intersectional curricular approach aims to highlight the complexities of power structures by examining their influence in the way social categories interact with each other. Moreover, this approach is a way for faculty to move beyond local understandings to examine, unveil, and rethink the global interconnectedness of systems of oppression based on contextualized social categories (de Vries, 2020). An intersectional curriculum in study abroad requires an open exchange of ideas and the exploration of perspectives within a safe and caring environment. This pedagogical approach builds on bell hooks' (2003) call for a radical openness in pedagogy, one where the faculty, facilitators, and/or study abroad leadership reflect on and openly discuss their positionality and are sensitive to the diverse experiences and identities of their students.

Practitioners in the field of education can engender more equitable outcomes for all students by applying an intersectional lens to curriculum design and implementation, where relationships between axes of class, race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, and age can illuminate the dimensions of students' experiences that are rendered invisible through discursive and material means. This dissertation suggests that there is a dire need to unlearn universalized notions of study abroad and to push to the fore the diverse ways of knowing as well as the experiences of first-generation, low-income study abroad minoritized participants. By highlighting structural oppression and privilege at the intersection of race, gender, class, age, and sexual orientation, curricula in study abroad can break from universal and deficit framings of identity. As suggested in Chapter Six, when integrating an intersectional lens in curriculum (pre-departure preparation, academic overseas curriculum, and post-study abroad debriefs), faculty and staff can equip students with critical thinking tools including journaling, strategic debriefing, reflective classroom discussions, and pointed readings by which they can engage in processes of reflection on their identities, their association with specific social groups, and the fluidity and interconnectedness of these social group associations.

Critical thinking assignments also work to disrupt colonialist tendencies in study abroad and positions students as a participant who "reflects on their complicities in global power relations, considers their responsibilities to those who are disadvantaged by current global arrangements, and who actively resists perpetuating them so that Othered groups

can actively exist in a more just social reality" (Cook, 2008, p. 17). Mitchell (2017) calls for an intersectional educational approach that works to unveil power by engaging "personal reflection about identity and positionality to understand power as it operates in one's own life" (p. 39). An intersectional and transnational curriculum consisting of a pre-departure orientation, critical thinking tools and exercises overseas, and post-study abroad debriefs, is a critical approach to study abroad pedagogy that an educational mobility justice framework calls for. Beyond identity, an intersectional approach to curriculum centers structures of inequality, oppression, coloniality, and privilege. I recommend curricula that acknowledges and critically engages with questions of coloniality and empire. This model of curricula is necessary to make study abroad more equitable within the U.S. and aligns study abroad participants with their privileged status as Americans who can go abroad. Changing course practices involves acknowledging colonialist tendencies in study abroad. By creating or revising study abroad curricula through a post-colonial lens, faculty can determine whether they have "maintained, or challenged, notions of the student at the center, reified an Othering process, or called on students to implement an objectifying gaze" (Sharpe, 2015, p. 233).

Strategic debriefing. Debriefing in study abroad is a reflective activity that study abroad cohort members, students in study abroad classrooms, and individual study abroad students can participate in. Study abroad professionals can provide facilitated debriefing and strategically interject debriefing opportunities at various points prior to, during, and

after the study abroad experience. Individual and collective reflective learning opportunities, particularly while abroad, can enhance a student's overall study experience as they navigate the complexities of self-making while abroad. Moreover, as a study abroad practitioner who has integrated and facilitated debriefing sessions abroad, I argue that it is vital for facilitators to develop a degree of trust with individual study abroad participants as well as with the collective group. Moreover, when structuring reflective debriefing sessions, facilitators should create guiding questions and prompts with care and understanding of the diverse needs of students. Cook-Anderson (2018) posits the importance of international educators to

> comprehend and be responsive to patterns of social angst and, at times, the collective mood of our students, some of whom are deeply affected, juggling the socio-emotional effects of identity-based social discord at home and an unfamiliar new culture that may view through a different lens. (p. 8)

In the case of Elisa in Chapter Four and Five, considerations of intersectional debriefing practices could have helped her to consider the ways immigration experiences interact with time and space abroad. Elisa talked about the impact that a lack of debriefing had on her sense-making abroad and at home.

> I wasn't completely aware of everything that was happening with me. I did whatever I needed to get done, but again, I felt a little bit numb. I did not have the opportunity to debrief, and that's something that I wish they could have done for

> us. For my advisor or someone to say, “Hey, let's sit down and talk about your experience. Let's process.” No, I did not have the opportunity to do those things. I went from coming to this country [to the U.S. from Mexico]. It could be traumatic going to school without knowing the language, and having issues at home because of my father. There were a lot of things going on. Poverty, education, work. Because I worked too. I have always worked. I mean, from me being my parent’s mom, to raising a little kid, surviving from this abusive relationship. Then, going abroad, and then falling in love with my best friend and then being in secret with her and, I never thought, I never had time to think about those things, I just needed to get it done.

This narrative, and this study more generally, emphasizes the importance of debriefing for study abroad students at the axes of various identities, mobility histories, and circumstances. By strategically debriefing, those in the field can help facilitate the multifaceted emotions that participants navigate at the intersection of time, space, and nationality, and social locations during and after their study abroad experience.

Possibility agencies in practice. In the conclusion of Chapter Five, I introduced the idea of possibility agencies as programs in higher education that integrate and enact critical practices aimed at uncovering institutional hegemony. I argued that programs in higher education, like TRIO, can serve as possibility agencies that understand, recognize, and attend to power relations inherent in higher education and on college campuses.

Through these critical practices, agents of possibility, like TRIO administrators, can develop trusting relationships with participants as they facilitate construction of knowledge, skills, agency, and possibilities for ethnoracial and socioeconomically marginalized students within higher education. Only then can practitioners and faculty reach a point of radical openness in pedagogy, referred to in the previous section. These relationships are crucial to reducing inequities in study abroad and diversifying it beyond white, middle-class females in undergraduate education, and programs built around them as standard practice.

As a first generation, low-income Latina who worked two jobs as an undergraduate, a multicultural center at my institution served as a possibility agency for me. It was at their persistence and encouragement that they showed me possibilities beyond a forty-hour work week. Agents of possibility, like my multicultural advisors, guided me toward opportunities on campus that I could balance with schoolwork and my financial survival. For me, agents of possibility disrupted the idea that work would define my college experience and disrupted the notion that I could exist in a space on a campus that I felt I was not a part of. In retrospect, I believe the multicultural office was acutely aware of the structures on campus that worked to oppress, suppress, or disregard students like me. In this way, I recognized the pivotal role that TRIO played in the lives of participants in this study. I call on higher education institutions to invest in TRIO programs so as to expand the pool of students they can reach. TRIO programs, and other

programs like them, should serve as higher education best practices for hiring, advising, critical pedagogy, retention, and graduation for marginalized student populations on campus.

***Families as active contributors to mobility*.** In Chapter Five I identified the various ways that participants tapped into and drew from their cultural registries in order to successfully study abroad. Familial, institutional, and community networks were a source of social capital, a notion coined by Pierre Bourdieu (1986), referring to a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks. Cultural registries helped participants gain access to other forms of capital necessary to gain mobility abroad. This dissertation suggests that social networks increase the propensity for a participant to study abroad. Alluding to social capital as an important source of human and social relations for first-generation, low-income minoritized students, participant's investment in and use of social capital through their cultural registries is an important source of mobility. I argue in Chapter Five that by conceptualizing families as active contributors to participants' mobility abroad, scholars and practitioners can better understand the role, impact, and salience of the family collective, especially as a mechanism to financially mobilize. Such an approach can also help illuminate the otherwise opaque relations between financial constraints, cultural registries, mobility, and study abroad. An awareness of these cultural registries can inform efforts to mobilize students to study abroad and open pathways that enable their participation.

***Representation and incorporation*.** Pointing to the need for increased diversity and equity in higher education, Chapter Five of this study illuminates the need for social group representation of staff, faculty, and study abroad leadership. Furthermore, in this study I found that professionals of color elicited possibility simply by 'showing up' as representatives who reflect student identities or intimately understand those identities of students within the field of education. Findings reveal that participants were more comfortable with staff members from their own communities rather than those in the study abroad office who were not attuned to their unique circumstances. In this way, I argue that representation can be a powerful mechanism for disrupting structural constraints and oppressive mobility regimes for participants in higher education. Both representation and incorporation are important when recruiting, advising, and facilitating study abroad opportunities for marginalized students on campus. Incorporation of marginalized faculty, staff, and other representatives of color refers to their incorporation into the fabric of the institution – ideally, toward the center of the organization for increased decision-making power. Lizbeth, highlighted in previous chapters, is currently a study abroad advisor at a four-year institution in Nevada. As a way to highlight the importance of representation, she confidently states,

> Outreach for me is so important so that I can get in those rooms and start planting those seeds because, for me as a young person, it took multiple stages to get me out. You know, that's really important for me as an outreach strategy. What

> people often say about representation is so important, seeing somebody who is different than that 72 percent of white females who are studying abroad, is important.

Beyond the type of outward representation that Lizbeth is referring to, representation and incorporation of marginalized staff and faculty in study abroad positions them to influence and determine policymaking in their programs and possibly in higher education more broadly. On the other hand, oftentimes marginalization of staff, faculty, scholars, and other practitioners in higher education has given them room and the opportunity to develop perspectives that contribute to efforts that challenge oppressive social structures rather than to seek to assimilate and acquiesce within existing structures. When considering incorporation in higher education I reflect on hooks (1990) argument that reconceptualizes marginalization as more than a site of deprivation. Rather, TRIO programs and programs like them can be sites for "radical possibility, a space of resistance" (hooks, 1990, p. 149). Hooks (1990) continues,

> It was this marginality that I was naming as a central location for the production of counter-hegemonic discourse that is not just found in words but in habits of being and the way one lives. As such, I was not speaking of marginality one wishes to lose – to give up or surrender as part of moving into the center – but rather of a site one stays in, clings to even, because it nourishes one's capacity to

> resist. It offers to one the possibility of radical perspective from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds. (pp. 149-150)

Agents of possibility are oftentimes those who represent the diversity of the students they serve, whether they are at the margins or incorporated within higher education. For my participants, agents of possibility were pivotal in disrupting the reproduction of oppressive social structures by creating counter-hegemonic advising and support practices for participants' mobility. Chapter Five highlighted these forms of disruption through practices that include confronting the day-to-day reproduction of hegemonic power relations on campus; understanding how hegemonic practices within institutions generate deficit driven discourse and reproduces educational inequalities for marginalized students on campus; engaging in the construction of knowledge, skills, agency, and possibilities for ethnoracial and socioeconomically marginalized students within higher education; and developing trust and a community of belonging and inclusion. An educational mobility justice framework calls for higher education to recognize the importance of representation as a form of resisting structural constraints and oppressive mobility regimes on campuses and other education contexts across the nation.

Implications for a CDA methodological design. Findings in this study demonstrate that it is important to account for the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures. By employing a methodology such as CDA that accounts for power, ideology, hegemony, and power as manifested in language, I was able to

analyze structures at the micro and macro levels. Yet, without using multiple lenses of inquiry such as CRT, mobility justice, intersectional analyses, and CCW- my research may have been constrained. A multi-lens analysis and a CDA methodology were ideal as CDA facilitated the deconstruction of texts and analysis of language use to discover patterns of inequality, racism, discrimination, and differential mobilities. However, as Caballero Mengibar (2015) argues "CDA does not provide an intuitive framework for uncovering why certain type of patterns are produced or reproduced" (p. 52), or why they persist. CDA was useful for me as an analytical strategy because it allowed me to uncover the ways in which dominant discourses such as deficit- framing narratives, mobility histories, essentializing narratives and universalist assumptions, materialized. By employing multiple frameworks alongside CDA, my findings demonstrate how the aforementioned discourses influenced participants' constructions of meanings, their identity, their mobility, and their agency before, during and after studying abroad. Implications for future research suggests that a multi-lens approach is recommended to further investigate the meaning making processes throughout the production of discourse and their attendant power relations.

Considerations for students. Participants in this study serve as witnesses to the power of counter-hegemonic ideas in combination with agency. Throughout the study, participants demonstrated the importance of mobilizing and drawing from their existing resources, i.e., their cultural registries. I find that the idea of study abroad as a possibility

can enable agency among students from marginalized backgrounds. This agency consists of drawing from a series of resources that they already possessed and mobilizing them to achieve study abroad mobility. The narratives that I observed among participants in this study showcase that the synthesis of counter-hegemonic ideas and agency holds the potential to disrupt the dominance of the idea that students have to be rich, white, and female to study abroad. This study illuminates the need for students to be aware of and prepare for the fact that their identities will shape their experiences in ways that may not shape the experiences of those who are from dominant groups, for which mobility has often been taken for granted. Rather, participant narratives throughout the study show that mobility abroad is not taken for granted due to the degree of effort they are required to enact in order to study abroad and sustain their presence abroad. Participants took multiple steps prior to studying abroad that were necessary to move them beyond the structures that suppressed their imaginative travel. Yet, their interactions with administrators who acted as agents that disrupted dominant narratives of study abroad helped moved them toward a possibility of travel and eventually to studying abroad. For participants, these experiences had far-reaching consequences throughout their lives. In some cases, these effects spilled over into participant families and communities.

In this study, I find that participants do not consider study abroad as a calculus of whether or not the experience is worth their time, efforts, and resources. The value and the impact of the experience of study abroad on participant lives were not variables that

participants even sought to quantify. Their experiences in preparation for, during, and after studying abroad led them to walk paths that they otherwise may not have taken, had they not begun to entertain the idea of traveling. For many participants, study abroad was one of the first instances in which they were able to achieve mobility under autonomous circumstances. This stood in contrast to their histories of mobility, which often only took place under circumstances outside of their control, such as immigration, civil unrest, state violence, displacement, and poverty. Narratives in this study are examples for marginalized students with intersecting identities and mobility histories of the significance and value of entertaining ideas that may at first seem impossible or beyond their reach.

Study abroad did a number of things for participants in this study beyond solely changing their minds about travel. I document throughout the dissertation how participants' ideas changed in relation to who they are, where they belong, where they want to be, how they want to be, who they want to be, how they see themselves in relation to their country, and how they see themselves in relation to other countries and societies. Participants questioned long held and uncontested beliefs which led them to awaken to new ideas that allowed them to see people and spaces in different ways. As highlighted in Chapter Six, these experiences were not positive for all students. Some participants reported experiences of racism, while others experienced a heightened sense of belonging. Students must be prepared for their study abroad experience with an

awareness of the ways in which systemic phenomena like racism and economic inequality shape participant experiences abroad.

Yet, in the context of these difficulties, study abroad produces a kind of learning that may not be possible within the traditional campus setting. Chapter Six considers transnational solidary as a potential benefit of study abroad as evidenced by Letricia's experience in Liverpool where she enacted ties beyond her home community with people who she may never have considered forming ties with. In this way, students have the potential to enact new solidarities and understandings of the suffering and the experiences of the Othered while abroad. In addition to these considerations for students, this work also encourages the undertaking for future research in institutions of higher education, and the broader field of international education and study abroad.

Areas for Future Inquiry

Students with disabilities. In preparation to conduct this research, I did not set out to examine students with disabilities. Rather, I focused on minoritized first-generation, low-income students. As a federally funded program, TRIO includes students with disabilities in their eligibility requirements. One participant in this study identified as first-generation, low-income, and a student of color with a disability, yet she did not specify or elaborate on the latter. I propose future study abroad research focus on mobility experiences for students with disabilities at the nexus of intersecting identities. There is a growing body of research that highlights the attitudes of students with

disabilities towards study abroad (Heirweg et al., 2020; Kutsche, 2012; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Matthews et al., 1998; Stroud, 2010), access to study abroad for students with disabilities (Dessoff, 2006; Johnstone & Edwards, 2020), study abroad inclusion practices for students with disabilities (Ablaeva, 2012; Hameister et al., 1999; Kelley et al., 2016, Twill et al., 2012) and experiences of students with disabilities while abroad (Katz et al., 2007; Shames & Alden, 2005). Yet, what this dissertation forwards, from an educational mobility justice perspective, is the argument that there are unjust mobility regimes in society, and specifically in higher education, that produce differential mobilities, impairing some movements while enabling others (Sheller, 2018). Thus, the study of immobility in the educational field must account for the socio-spatial experiences that students with disabilities must face in regard to inaccessible design of cities, campuses, and classrooms that fail to consider their mobility requirements (Gleeson, 1999).

Students with disabilities have mobility histories and intersecting identities that should be examined prior to, during, and after study abroad. Sheller (2018) argues that researchers

> have not spent enough time showing how forms of knowledge production shape the ways in which embodied differences of uneven mobility are orchestrated, choreographed and governed in ways that produce differences of class, gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, and physical ability. (p. 56)

This dissertation finds that, although knowledge production in international education shapes a dominant discourse in study abroad that universalizes benefits and centers fixed identities, the benefits that marginalized participants experience in this study are in sharp contrast to those universalities. Moreover, participants in this study navigate identity abroad by self-narrating and question and disrupt notions of identity fixity. A participant in my study, Vickie, made an observation during the interview that weighed on her.

> We didn't include disabled students in our group. To me, disabled students should be very much part of the study abroad because they're very contemplative. They have a narrative, a story, that none other has. To me, that's really important that we learn from each other through our narratives.

Students with disabilities, their narratives, their histories of immobility and mobility, and the benefits they experience deserve amplification in research. What we understand from this chapter is that participant experiences are complex. There are structures that have impacted their imaginations, mobilities, and experiences abroad. Although there is work about students with disabilities and study abroad, there is a significant silence and absence in literature about students with disabilities and their mobility histories, particularly for low-income, first-generation minoritized students with a disability. Moreover, the practical implications that evolve from such potential research can have a significant impact for institutions of higher education and the broader field of international education in the ways practitioners design and carry out their findings.

Ramifications of the COVID-19 pandemic. The data collection for this dissertation took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, which altered my research design drastically. It is important that I consider the consequences of COVID-19 on the mobility of students worldwide. Adey et al. (2021) refers to these ramifications of COVID-19 as "pandemic (im)mobilities." The field of education has experienced a shift of space, temporal patterns, and immobilities as well as new mobilities in the wake of the pandemic. In a matter of days and, for some, minutes, students, faculty, staff, and educational stakeholders had to pivot and face complex and intersecting systems of (im)mobility that forced students out of residence halls, mandated the creation of systems of virtual learning overnight, kept individuals from working, displaced international students, canceled study abroad programs and other academic and personal international experiences, marked certain students as virus spreaders, stalled the movement of goods and other resources that threatened livelihoods, and created an inequitable rate of vaccinations for communities of color.

The pandemic shone a spotlight on the differential mobility and privilege of those who have the option to work comfortably from home, like myself, and those who are on the ground serving as essential workers, those laid off, or those who are without a home or safe environment during this time. I suggest future studies on pandemic (im)mobilities in education highlight the multiple crises that those in education face, including in the areas of health, economy, international relations, race relations, and immigration.

Particularly, future studies of pandemic immobilities should be analyzed in the context of structures and hierarchies of power that even in times of COVID-19, actively create differential mobilities for stigmatized identities.

An agenda for educational mobility justice research. Developing research for an educational mobility justice framework encompasses a wide range of issues in higher education that have not been discussed in this dissertation. These issues range from the ways that student movement on campuses is racialized, profiled, and regulated; inequitable or inaccessible educational transportation; complex spatialities of students with disabilities; study abroad as a colonial practice; and including, but not limited to, the ease and freedom of movement for immigrant and undocumented students in education. There is still much to be done in the area of educational mobility justice, particularly as it relates to historical mobilities of students in varying contexts.

The lack of mobility histories research in study abroad is also compounded by an absence of studies that highlight participants through an intersectional lens. Moving forward, I propose to continue examining differential mobility in higher education and other educational settings by interrogating mobility histories, examining the politics of mobilities within institutional contexts, and deconstructing static categories and recognizing the fluidity of student identities in education. Moreover, by moving beyond U.S. national borders, international research within an educational mobility justice

framework can provide comparative insight and highlight the workings of transnational mobility regimes within education.

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Appendix 1 – COE Letter of Approval

COE
COUNCIL for OPPORTUNITY in EDUCATION

January 27, 2019

To whom it may concern:

The Council for Opportunity in Education (COE) sponsors the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program in The Hague, Netherlands June 28— July 18 in partnership with The Hague University of Applied Sciences and ECHO Center for Diversity Policy. Twenty college students who are participants in TRIO programs and two group leaders will be chosen by COE for the program.

Continent upon IRB approval, Rosa Acevedo Villarreal is approved to conduct her research and will have access to the Keith Sherin Global Leaders participants, before, during and after the summer program. Prior informed consent will be required from all participants.

Sincerely,

Maureen Hoyler
President
Council for Opportunity in Education

1025 Vermont Ave., NW, Suite 900, Washington, DC 20005 | w 202.347.7430 | f 202.347.0786 | www.coenet.us

Appendix 2 – Recruitment Flier

PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Who?

My name is Rosa Acevedo and I am a Doctoral Candidate at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. For the past 15 years I have worked professionally with TRIO students and similar populations through access and opportunity programs. Additionally, I have led study abroad for TRIO students to Africa, Greece, Costa Rica, Cuba and Spain.

Why?

My research is centered on providing opportunities for excluded populations in study abroad literature to have a voice and to be heard. I ask that you participate in my study to illuminate your story and fill a void in literature! I will be recruiting alumni participants of the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program to be a part of my study.

What? Participants are asked to:

- Participate in a one-hour video conference interview and/OR
- Participate in a 90 minute focus group

How can I learn more?

Please contact Rosa Acevedo at villa472@umn.edu or call me at 216-816-2250

Appendix 3 – Informed Consent

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, TWIN CITIES STUDY INFORMATION SHEET INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT FOR

Rosa Acevedo

You are invited to participate in a research study of alumni participants of the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program who studied abroad between 2000 and 2019. You were selected as a possible subject because of your identification as a TRIO student and your status as an alumni participant**.** Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Under the supervision of Dr. Roozbeh Shirazi, this study is being conducted by Doctoral Candidate Rosa Acevedo Villarreal from the Department of Organizational leadership and Policy Development at The University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of my study is to examine the lived experiences of alumni participants of the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program. My aim is to amplify the voices and stories of participants, including low-income, first-generation, minoritized students, during following their participation abroad.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

Involvement in the study will take place via online video-conferencing and participants will be asked to:

- Participate in a one-hour video conference interview and/or
- Participate in a 90-minute focus group

RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

While there are risks involved in all research studies, the risks associated with this study are very minimal. There may be questions about your past or topics that bring up personal feelings and emotions. You may refrain from answering questions that you feel are

invasive. You may also withdraw from the study at any time point, before, during, or after the study abroad experience.

BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

There may not be direct benefits to you as a participant in this study. However, we hope to learn from your previous experiences as a TRIO student, first-generation student, and/or a student of color participating in a study abroad experience. Taking part in this research may not help you directly, however you may benefit from the opportunity to provide guidance to future students who wish to study abroad as well as university and nonprofit environments that support these groups.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All information gathered about you will be handled in confidence. All data will be stored on encrypted computers. Audio-recordings of the interview will be made using an encrypted dictaphone. These interviews will be transcribed, coded and the results anonymized. Quotes from interviews may be used, but these will also be anonymous, any names or identifying features will be removed.

HONORARIUM

An honorarium of $25 will be provided for the focus group. There will be no honorarium provided for interviews.

CONTACT FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study or a research-related injury, contact the researcher, Rosa Acevedo Villarreal, at (216) 816-2250. This research has been reviewed and approved by an IRB within the Human Research Protections Program (HRPP). To share feedback privately with the HRPP about your research experience, call the Research Participants' Advocate Line at 612-625-1650 (Toll Free: 1-888-224-8636) or go to z.umn.edu/participants. You are encouraged to contact
the HRPP if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research participant.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

For additional guidance, please see the detailed job aids available in the "How to Submit" section of the For additional guidance, please see the detailed job aids available in the "How to Submit" section of the IRB website.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THIS STUDY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Leaving the study does not require you to forfeit or refund the honorarium. Your decision whether or not to participation in this study will not affect your current or future relations to the researcher, the University of Minnesota, TRIO, or the Council for Opportunity in Education.

SUBJECT'S CONSENT

In consideration of all of the above, I give my consent to participate in this research study.

I will be given a copy of this informed consent document to keep for my records. I agree to take part in this study.

Subject's Printed Name: _____

Subject's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____

Appendix 4 – Description of Participants

Name	Gender	COE Study Abroad (SA) Location	COE SA Year	Subsequent SA	Race and or/ethnicity	HEI	State
Eros	Male	Salamanca, Spain	2018	N	Mexican American	4-year	CA
Megan	Female	Liverpool, United Kingdom	2007	Y	Mexican American/White	4-year	CA
Laura	Female	Salamanca, Spain	2009	Y	Mexican American	2-year	MI
Long	Male	Salamanca, Spain	2013	N	Vietnamese	2-year	WA
Vicki	Female	Salamanca, Spain	2016	N	Asian American/White	2-year	MN
Brilianny	Female	Salamanca, Spain	2018	N	Latin American	4-year	NJ
Nhung	Female	Hague, Netherlands	2019	N	Vietnamese	2-year	MI
Celina	Female	Liverpool, United Kingdom	2002	N	Latin American	4-year	IN
Lesley	Female	Hague, Netherlands	2019	N	Native American	2-year	MI
Lizbeth	Female	Liverpool, United Kingdom	2010	N	Mexican American	4-year	NV
Monica	Female	South Africa (various cities)	2000	Y	Mexican American	2-year	CO
Letricia	Female	Liverpool, United Kingdom	2004	Y	Black	2-year	CA
Jonathan	Male	Salamanca, Spain	2016	N	Black/Native American	2-year	MI
Akeya	Female	Liverpool, United Kingdom	2006	Y	Black	2-year	IN
Elisa	Elisa	Liverpool, United Kingdom	2007	Y	Mexican	2-year	MI
Lorenzo	Male	Salamanca, Spain	2015	Y	Chilean	4-year	IN
Zaw	Male	Liverpool, United Kingdom	2009	N	Bhurmese	2-year	MI
Elizabeth	Female	Salamanca, Spain	2016	N	Mexican American	4-year	UT

Acronyms

COE- Council for Opportunity in Education
SA- Study Abroad
HEI- Higher Education Institution

Appendix 5 – Interview Protocol

Semi- structured interview

Narrative generation on social mobility and life histories

The interview will begin with an open generative narrative question that allows participants to reflect on how they came to study abroad and how they tell the story of their lives, their identities, and why they chose to study abroad. Questions will be adapted in the light of how the interview progresses.

1. Prior to studying abroad, did you ever think about studying abroad when you were growing up?
2. When did the reality of study abroad happen for you?
3. Tell me about the community you grew up in? Were discussions of travel ever discussed?
4. Who do you know in your community (i.e., school, church, neighborhood, family) who had studied abroad?
5. Does your family have international travel experience?
6. When did you make the decision to study abroad with TRIO/COE?
7. What are some things that influenced your decision to study abroad?
8. What are some of the things you value most in your life?
9. How would your family describe you?
10. How would you describe your family?
11. How did your study abroad experience meet your expectations? How did it fall short of your expectations?
12. Take a moment to think about the top five characteristics that define your identity as a person. Please describe why those are the most important to you.
13. How did the experience of traveling abroad make you think about your identity as a (low-income, first generation, student of color)?

Thematic phase

Participants will be asked for their perceptions of study abroad as a process of self-discovery, influences of identity, negotiation of identity, and their ways of knowing and seeing themselves and the world. Questions will be adapted in the light of how the interview progresses.

1. Please explain if you believe that your identity and values impacted your experiences abroad.
2. In what ways has your identity been challenged in your past? Currently?
3. How would you describe the way people interact with you based on your identity (at home and abroad)?
4. Did you experience racism, microaggressions, or feelings of discomfort while in your host country? From within your peer cohort?
5. How did the experience of being abroad make you think about your identity as a (low-income, first generation, student of color)?
6. Did you describe yourself as different when you returned from abroad? If so, explain.
7. If you had the opportunity to tell someone who shares many of your same characteristics as you, a future TRIO student seeking to study abroad, what important messaging would you share about your experience?
8. What role did your American identity play in your study abroad experience?
9. What role did your TRIO identity play in your study abroad experience?
10. What impact did your race and/or ethnicity have on your decisions to go abroad and your experiences abroad?
11. How did your study abroad experience shape how you see yourself abroad (As related to race/ethnicity, age, gender, first generation, low-income?
12. How did your study abroad experience shape how you see yourself in the U.S.? (As related to race/ethnicity, age, gender, first generation, low-income?
13. How did others in your life shape your study abroad experience?

Reflection

1. If you reflect back, what were some of the best memories from your experience?
2. Overall, what were the most beneficial aspects of the study abroad program?
3. What were some of the challenges you experienced abroad?
4. What did you learn most about your host country?
5. What did you discover about yourself, who you are, and what you value?
6. How did the experience of reentry to the U.S. make you think about your identity as a (low-income, first generation, student of color)?
7. What did you discover about others around you?
8. As you reflect on your time abroad, what themes do you recognize throughout your experience?
    a. Let’s talk more about those themes and why they are important to you.

Member checking

*Alumni participants will receive a transcription of the interviews as soon as they are transcribed and I am able to disseminate them. A follow-up conversation will be offered to all participants and will be scheduled with those who would like to talk about their transcribed interviews. Questions to guide member checking are included below.

1. Were there any content in the transcript that surprised you?
2. Is there anything in the transcript you feel is an inaccurate or a misrepresentation of what was said? Can you elaborate by what you meant by…?

Appendix 6 – Focus Group Protocol

Script

(10 minutes)

Welcome everyone, my name is Rosa Acevedo and I am currently a Doctoral Candidate at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. Today you are participating in the focus group composed of alumni participants who studied abroad with the Keith Sherin Global Leaders Program.

This focus group was designed to understand more about study abroad, particularly for those who have historically been marginalized in international education. Personally, my role as a practitioner and my educational experiences as a low-income, first generation student and Latina allowed me to recognize that there are complex emotional and cognitive barriers that students have to overcome while abroad. What I do not know and what I seek to know, is the how and the why. I know an inherent change happens in students' self- perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs while abroad but I do not know how they explore these changes and how their identity shifts occur.

My study aims to understand how the narratives of low-income minoritized students and their intersecting identities contribute to and possibly counter dominant narratives that prevail in the scholarship on study abroad. I expect my research to address a gap in

literature that will reimagine study abroad in ways that are more inclusive and not constructed on the foundation of the dominant experiences and exclusive narratives of affluent white participants studying abroad.

Risks and Benefits of Participation

While there are risks involved in all research studies, the risks associated with this focus group are very minimal. There may be questions about your past or topics that bring up personal feelings and emotions. You may refrain from answering questions that you feel are invasive. You may also withdraw from the focus group at any point.

There may not be direct benefits to you as a participant in this study beyond the honorarium. However, you may benefit from the opportunity to provide guidance to future students who wish to study abroad as well as university and nonprofit environments that support these groups.

Your participation today is completely voluntary. If at any point we come to a question that you don't want to answer, you may pass or simply choose not to respond. If at any point you wish to withdraw from the focus group, you may do so, with no questions asked. Today's focus group will be digitally recorded and later transcribed for your review. All personally identifiable information will be removed from your responses and pseudonyms assigned to each participant to anonymize identities. This study will not reveal your name and all information collected during this session will be stored in an encrypted and password protected folder. All participants are asked to respect the privacy of your fellow participants and refrain from sharing any information discussed during this session. If you agree with these conditions, please say yes now.

-PAUSE

We have planned to spend 1.5 hours for our meeting. In order to ensure that we are finished on time, I will be setting a timer to alert me at each half hour. This means, at times, we will need to move on to the next question before we have heard everything you may want to say. You all have my contact information, if you have questions after this focus group or you think of something that you would like to add, please feel free to contact me. You may also contact the University of Minnesota Research Participants' Advocate Line at 612-625-1650 or toll free at 1-888-224-8636. Participants may also submit an electronic form of inquiry to the University of Minnesota Human Research Protection Program through the Human Research Protection Program Feedback Form. I

will provide you the link and all of the contact information in the chat box for your reference.

With your permission, I would like to record our conversation, to ensure accurate transcription of our discussion and your contributions.

Are there any questions you have for me before we begin?

Questions

For transcription purposes, everyone please say your name, age, where you grew up and where you completed your higher education studies.

(twenty-five minutes)

Biographical Information

I think it will be important for me to first understand a little bit about your background. I realize the impact families have on students' and their academic journeys, personal decisions, and future trajectories. Will each of you provide me with a picture of your family life and the communities you grew up in?

Decision to study abroad

The next question focuses on your decision to study abroad, can you tell me how you decided to study abroad?

Probing Questions

Why did you choose to study abroad with TRIO?

What roles did your families play in your decision to go abroad?

Did you find resources to assist you in studying abroad? If so, please describe them.

(twenty- five minutes)

While studying abroad

This question will relate to your time abroad, will you tell me about some of the positive experiences and challenges you experienced while studying abroad?

Probing Questions

What do you all feel like you discovered about yourself, who you are, and what you value?

Which spaces did you feel most comfortable in while abroad?

Identity and study abroad

The following questions are centered on how you navigated your concept of identity while abroad. Were there any moments while abroad that made you reflect on your identity? For example, your identity can relate to identifying as low-income, first-generation student, your race, ethnicity, your gender, your military status, your age, or any other characteristic you identify with.

Has mobility, i.e. the right to move, been something that you have ever thought about in relation to you and your family?

I have had conversations with students who experienced hardships while studying abroad. Particularly, financial hardships, feelings of discrimination, racism, and feeling discomfort from those in their host country. Did any of you have similar experiences?

If so, how did you deal with those situations? Did you have support?

Probing Questions

What kind of impact did your study abroad experience have on your life?

Did it have an impact on your career?
Did it change your abilities to navigate different situations?
Did it change the ways in which you see other cultures?
Did it change your beliefs?

(End of focus group)